

JPRS-EER-86-119

7 AUGUST 1986

East Europe Report

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

7 AUGUST 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

CONTENTS

AGRICULTURE

ROMANIA

- Factors Influencing Increased Soy Yields Discussed
(N. Brasoveanu; REVISTA ECONOMICA, 30 Apr 86)..... 1

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Uncertainty Characterizes CEMA's New 5-Year Plan Period
(Gerhard Fink; EUROPÄISCHE RUNDSCHAU, No 2, 1986)..... 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Inspections Reveal Industry Continues To Waste Fuel, Energy
(Alfonz Bednaric; PRAVDA, 28 May 86)..... 16

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Honecker, Carlsson Initiate Trade Talks, Discuss Human Rights
(TAGESSPIEGEL, 27 Jun 86)..... 20

POLITICS

BULGARIA

Statutes Adopted by 8th BCP Include Recent Amendments (PARTIEN ZHIVOT, No 7, May 86).....	21
--	----

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Changes in CPCZ Statutes Analyzed (Frantisek Klima; NOVA MYSL, No 6, 1986).....	43
Party Reviews Membership, Looks to Future (Editorial; PRAVDA, 30 May 86).....	52
Regime's Antireligious Drive Intensifies (Valtraud Baryli; LE MONDE, 8 Jul 86).....	55
Shortcomings in High School Education Criticized (Zdenek Zuntych; TRIBUNA, 2 Apr 86).....	57

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Academic Offers Timetable for Communism's Arrival (INFORMATIONEN, No 12, 20 Jun 86).....	60
---	----

HUNGARY

IZVESTIYA Interview With Sarlos on Election System, Debate (Istvan Sarlos Interview; IZVESTIYA, 24 Jun 86).....	61
Church-State Compromise, Role of Cardinal Lekai Examined (Henri Tinco; LE MONDE, 3 Jul 86).....	64
Lekai's Cooperation With Regime Bulanyi's Dissidence: Basic Communities	64 68
Deputy Premier Interviewed on New Youth Office (Lajos Czinege Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 28 Jun 86).....	70
Government Report on Human Rights Approved (MTI, 16 Jul 86).....	72
MTI Reports on Fight Against Drug Abuse by Young People (MTI, 16 Jul 86).....	74
Briefs	
Miklos Visits CSSR	75
Aczel in Luxembourg, Belgium	75
DRA Delegation Departs	75
Auto Export Agreement	76

ROMANIA

Need To Prevent, Combat Religious Practices in Youth (INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL, No 4, Apr 86).....	77
Role of Educated Cited by Prof Mihaela Viliman	77
Proselytizing Methods Must Be Exposed, by Ioan Boncota	79
Topics of Political Novels Discussed (Liviu Leonte; ROMANIA LITERARA, No 19, 8 May 86).....	83
Volume on Contemporary Prose Reviewed (Ioan Holban; CRONICA, No 25, 20 Jun 86).....	88
Professor Pleased By Results of Ceangau Forum (Ioan Martinas; LUCEAFARUL, No 21, 24 May 86).....	92

YUGOSLAVIA

Judges Say SFRY Suffers Constitutionality Crisis (TANJUG, 2 Jul 86).....	94
---	----

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Agricultural Minister Reassures Public on Radioactivity, Food (E. Linkova; ZEMEDELSE NOVINY, 17 Jun 86).....	96
Slowdown in Housing Construction Explained (Jan Jezek; TRIBUNA, 7 May 86).....	98
Article Reviews Problems With Living in Apartments (Jiri Bagar; TVORBA, 11 Jun 86).....	100

/12223

FACTORS INFLUENCING INCREASED SOY YIELDS DISCUSSED

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian 30 Apr 86 pp 15-16

[Article by Dr Engr N. Brasoveanu]

[Text] At this stage, noncorrelation between demographic evolution and supply of food needs, on many world meridians, is a major overall issue that faces mankind. Consequently, there is a growing tendency for the sector of farm food-stuffs and, by and large, the sector that produces regenerable raw materials to acquire greater and greater importance in world economy as a whole. In the context of current and previsible evolution of the demographic-food ratio, characterized by increase in population and significant reduction of rural work force, concomitantly with the greater and greater demand for food products, intensive agricultural growth remains the chief alternative in ironing out this complex problem of mankind.

In this country, in the context of agricultural expansion and modernization, under this five-year plan the increase in grain output will continue to be an important objective; it is expected that the year 1990 will see a production of 30-32 million tons and the year 2000, 35 million tons. In the overall agriculture it is anticipated that by the year 2000 production will be double. In a traditional context, this presupposes corresponding appropriations of means of production, considering that in agriculture some superior economic effects dovetail with increased efforts of materialized labor per unit of product. Under the conditions of the energy and raw material crisis, this requirement becomes increasingly difficult to meet because it is conducive to a significant rise in production costs, to reduction of the economic efficiency of agricultural production and, at the same time, is a factor in the deterioration of the environment. In this context, the problem arises of reconsidering the size and contents of the factors of intensification of economic progress of agriculture and even of its production structures. In the first place, there is the need for defining an optimal model of development of this branch, that combines elements from traditional agriculture with the needs and means of modern agriculture.

In this context, it is believed that there is the need for a better utilization of alfalfa, clover, pea, soy, in light of their important input into the biological fertilization of the soil, into the balancing of fodder rations, into the optimalization of the makeup of crop rotations. Against the backdrop of these finalities and of expanded mixed organomineral fertilization -- with chemical fertilizer being principally destined for technical crops and in the main to more intensive crop cultivation -- the following facets of the efficiency of more intensive farming will become evident: wise use of the factors of technical advancement; ensuring of the efficiency of agricultural production, in agreement with ecological balance; increased competitive character of Romanian farm products on the world market.

Among the crops that involve the above-mentioned functions, soy places today, in the agricultural economy, among the most important crops in terms of size and input. A crop that is rich in fats, soy also has the richest protein content compared to the other oleaginous plants grown in Romania -- rape, sunflower and the like. The soy mill contains 44-49 percent protein and is used, with grain, in animal foddering.

In the overall vegetable production, soy is a factor in the structuring of wise rotations, because it is less demanding as to precursors, but being itself a good precursor, specifically for winter grain. Soy (and generally leguminous plants) do not require nitrogen fertilization, but, on the contrary, improves the nitrogen conditions of the soil, providing this fertilizing element to the crops that succeed it in rotation*.

In regard to soy's protein input into animal feed in the context of the protein imbalance, we point out the significant remark recently made by the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the enlarged plenary session of the National Council of Agriculture, emphasizing that: "We cannot -- and must not -- raise animals with imported soy. Never in Romanian agriculture have we taken the line of imports to supplement proteins."

Evolution, Territorial Distribution of Cultivated Areas

During the interwar period soy was grown in this country on a small scale, on about 17,000 ha, with an average production of 550 kg/ha. During the 1951-1970 period the areas under this crop ranged between 7,000-49,000 ha, and the average

* This explains why in the U.S.A. -- with a large proportion of leguminous crops in agriculture -- there are used relatively small quantities of chemical fertilizers in relation to the levels of vegetable output; the nitrogen introduced into the soil results equally -- 10 million tons each -- from chemical fertilizers, organic fertilizers and from biological fixation, within which soy plays the decisive role.

yields, between about 400-1,000 kg/ha. Only after this date the soy crop expanded over large areas: 159,000 ha, on the average, during 1971-1975, and 292,000 ha in 1984, with average yields of approximately 1,390 kg/ha. It is projected that during the 1990-2020 period the area under soy will increase from 410,000 ha to 500,000 ha, and the average yield, from 2,550 to 2,800 kg/ha.

On the Romanian territory, in 1984, the soy crop accounts for (Table 1) maximum size -- expressed by the area under this crop and the proportion from the arable land -- in the Dobrogea Plateau and the Romanian Southern Plain, also located in a relatively large proportion in the Western Plain and the Moldavian Plateau. These areas total 95 percent of the overall area under soy and 96 percent of the entire soy yield nationally. The remaining area (14,200 ha) and production (16,700 t) are spread out in the Northern Romanian Plain and the Curvature Carpathians, the Getic Plateau and the Southern Carpathians, the Moldavian Plateau and the Eastern Carpathians, the Transylvanian Plateau and Interior Carpathians. In the hilly region, normally, soy is nonexistent.

In the Dobrogea Plateau and in the Southern Romanian Plain the proportion of the soy crop in the arable land is almost double the national level. In the Western Plain, also, the level of this indicator is higher than the national average.

The average yield obtained in 1984, of about 1,400 kg/ha (versus about 1,200 kg during the 1976-1979 period) attests that there is the need for major technical, economic and organizational efforts in order to reach the potential of current strains: 2,000-2,500 kg/ha. On the territory, the nationally average production is exceeded only in the area of the Southern Romanian Plain, where the production level is almost double in Olt County.

Optimalization Criteria in Soy Location

In the optimalization of soy crop proportions territorially the following criteria are taken into consideration:

a. The criterion of biological needs and natural setting. A paramount requirement in soy growing involves compliance with the hydrothermal balance and the thermal necessary level of minimum 8-10°C for germination. The emerged plant survives frosts of -20 up to -30°C. In the stages of blossoming and formation of beans the optimal temperature is 18-20°C. Throughout the vegetation cycle soy needs 2,500-3,000°C. In terms of the hydric factor, soy requires a soil that is well provided with water from the period of seed germination until termination of fruition. The best results are obtained with brown-reddish cernozem, alluviums, soils with a pealike structure, clayey texture, that are most fertile with pH 6.5-7.

In light of these requirements we stress that during a relatively recent period, when there were not yet irrigation systems, the most favorable zones in terms of soy were located in the Transylvanian Plain, Tisa Plain and in some territories

Table 1. Territorial Distribution of Soy, According to Various Geographical Zones and Counties in 1984

Geographical zone	County	Area under soy (thou ha)	Proportion in arable (%)	Average yield (kg/ha)	Total yield (thou t)
Southern Romanian Plain	Dolj	23,1	4,5	840	19,4
	Olt	10,0	2,8	2510	25,1
	Teleorman	21,1	4,5	1417	29,9
	Giurgiu	13,9	4,3	1330	18,5
	Sectorul agricol Ilfov	3,2	3,5	1813	5,8
	Călărași	41,3	9,7	1507	62,0
	Ialomița	29,3	5,8	1594	34,4
	Brăila	24,0	6,6	1433	45,2
	Galați	7,2	2,5	1472	10,6
	Total zone	164,1	5,1	1520	251,0
Western Plain	Timiș	30,5	5,3	1036	31,6
	Arad	16,8	4,6	1161	19,5
	Bihor	1,6	0,5	1125	1,8
	Satu Mare	2,9	1,2	1138	3,3
	Total zone	51,8	3,5	1084	56,2
Dobrogea Plateau	Constanța	33,4	6,7	1362	45,5
	Tulcea	9,1	3,3	1332	12,6
Total zone		42,5	5,5	1355	57,6
Moldavian Plateau	Vaslui	7,0	2,4	1071	7,5
	Iași	5,0	1,8	1540	7,7
	Botoșani	7,4	2,3	1324	9,8
Total zone		19,4	2,2	1320	23,0
Remaining Rom. territory		14,2	0,4	1176	16,7
Total R.S. România		292,0	2,9	1392	406,5

of the Moldavian Plateau -- zones with a balanced ratio of hydrothermal factors, with favorable phreatic input and fertile soils. The restrictions exacted by the thermal factor provide the motivation that underlay the elimination of soy growing -- totally or mostly -- in economic activity in the counties of montane, submontane and hilly areas: Caras-Severin, Hunedoara, Alba, Gorj, Vilcea, Sibiu, Brasov, Arges, Covasna, Harghita Bistrita-Nasaud, Maramures, Salaj, Bacau, Neamt, Suceava.

b. The criterion of mutations generated by hydromeliorative projects in favorableness of soy growing. In recent years under the new conditions created by the ample expansion of irrigation systems, especially in the Romanian Plain and the Dobrogea Plateau, soy withdraws totally or mostly from all the territory of the Transylvanian Plain and Plateau; no longer occurring in Salaj County, practically totally withdrawn from Alba County and involving insignificant proportions in Mures and Cluj counties, and in the Western Plain occurring in appreciable proportions only in Timis and Arad counties, with a more marked moderate continental climate and with large proportions of drainage projects.

The land improvement projects mentioned above and especially the irrigation projects have provided the attribute of maximum favorableness to the soy crop in the country's south-eastern area, depriving the Transylvania and Tisa Plain of this primacy. The great proportions of irrigation systems -- 61-90 percent -- in the Romanian Plain and the Dobrogea Plateau explain the mass transfer of the soy crop from the Transylvanian Plateau and Plain (and partly from the Moldavian Plateau) to these new areas, that have become the most favorable ones as a result of the improved hydric factor.

c. The ecological criterion -- that synthetically expresses -- through the improvement notes, the set of natural conditions and changes in the economic fertility of the land as an effect of hydromeliorative projects -- was also taken into consideration in locating the soy crop on the territory. According to the natural improvement notes, in practical activity in agriculture, soy is grown only in the counties with a favorableness of minimum 40 points.

d. The technical criterion focuses on the place and size of the soy crop in rotation in the various agricultural systems on the territory. In this respect, based on a study conducted at the zonal agricultural research stations, anticipated are the following proportions of soy crops in the irrigated and nonirrigated systems: in several representative counties in terms of this crop -- in the Ialomita, Braila, Cosntanta, Olt and Dolj counties -- with 59-83 percent irrigated arable land the proposal states a proportion of 11-14 percent in the irrigated system and 3-6 percent in the nonirrigated system; in Iasi and Vaslui counties, where the irrigated arable land accounts for 8-18 percent the projection involves a proportion of 5-8 percent in the irrigated system and 3-4 percent in the nonirrigated system.

e. Tradition in soy growing constitutes another criterion that is taken into consideration in locating and sizing this crop on the territory. For instance, even under the conditions of droughty climates and a low level of irrigation systems, with small prospects of expansion, soy is grown in Vaslui, Iasi and Botosani counties on a scale of several thousands of hectares, with average yields at the national level.

The criteria mentioned above led to the sizes of soy crops according to the various geographical areas and counties listed in Table 1.

In light of the relation between the areas cultivated, the average and overall yields variants of sizes of this crop were formulated (Table 2).

Table 2. Soy Crop Variants in Light of Current Strains and Technologies

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5
Cultivated area (thousand ha)	200	300	400	500	600
Average yield (kg/ha)	2441	2313	2213	2157	2122
Total yield (thousand t)	487	696	885	1087	1273

It follows that in the context of expanded soy growing, in the variants of greater sizes of this crop, also including less favorable lands, the levels of average yields decline. For instance, in variant 5 -- even though the area expected to be cultivated is three times that for variant 1 -- the total yield increases by a factor of 2.8. The variants formulated are integrated between the minimum and maximum limits of the soy crop -- limits which are fit in terms of land favorableness for this crop and acceptable in terms of their cost effectiveness. The anticipated average yields are at the level of the biological potential of soy, in the context of the most favorable lands in variant 1 and at the limit of cost effectiveness in the last variant, in which also less favorable lands were taken into consideration.

Placing in time the different variants listed, it should be emphasized that in terms of the area taken up we are now approximately at the level of variant 2 and it is projected that 1990 will see reaching the 400,000 ha -- corresponding to variant 3, and the years 2010-2020, 500,000 ha, respectively the level of variant 4. However, the average yield is currently significantly below the level projected, being by more than 1,000 kg/ha lower.

Efficiency Levels

Presently, out of the total of about 290,000 ha of soy irrigated crops involve about 160,000 ha, which, for the average yield of almost 1,400 kg/ha, presupposes production levels of 1,700 kg/ha in irrigated systems and 1,000 kg in nonirrigated systems. But at 1,700 kg/ha in irrigated systems soy crops are at the minimum level of profitability, with incomes hardly managing to cover costs.

Hence, there is the need for ensuring the optimal combinations of factors in irrigated soy crops that result in raising yields to the level of the biological potential of the strains. In nonirrigated systems, considering the far lower costs per hectare and per ton, for the level of 1,000 kg/ha soy growing shows the lowest production cost, the maximum amount of net income per unit of production and product and the highest profitability level. The minimum level of soy efficiency in nonirrigated systems is about 600 kg/ha. But in the context of the need for ensuring the protein balance in animal feed and the multiple utilization of soy in human food and in industry, it is not the criterion of value that must be considered as decisive but the criterion of the value of utilization, with the focus on obtaining the greatest possible mass of soy production. Consequently, in light of this criterion, under the conditions of nonirrigation we may consider as the optimal variant the technology that assures an average yield of 2,000 kg/ha -- a relevant variant in terms of both criteria mentioned, resulting in obtaining an average mass of production in the context of high cost effectiveness (43 percent profitability level), and in irrigated systems, the technology that expects 3,000 kg/ha -- a superior variant in terms of the volume of production and admissible as to economic efficiency (more than 8 percent profitability level). In light of these factors, projections for the years 2010-2020 involve expanding soy crops to the level of the following parameters: 500,000 ha cultivated area, 2,800 kg/ha average yield and 1.4 million tons total yield.

11710

CSO: 2700/144

UNCERTAINTY CHARACTERIZES CEMA'S NEW 5-YEAR PLAN PERIOD

Vienna EUROPÄISCHE RUNDSCHAU in German Vol 14 No 2, 1986 pp 17-25

[Article by Gerhard Fink, university lecturer, director of the Vienna Institute for Comparative International Economics. Original title: "Uncertainties in the New CEMA Plan Period"]

[Text] Viewed in retrospect, the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan period, now completed, may be characterized as a period of disappointments and vain expectations.

The "umbrella principle," favored by Western banks but always rejected in the East, broke down in 1981, in the aftermath of the strikes in Poland. The West had assumed that, in the case of payment difficulties, the Soviet Union would lend financial support to the smaller East European countries. However, due to the steep rise in interest rates, Poland's payment obligations are said to have been excessive even for fraternal help from the Soviet Union. The shortage of liquidity thereby initiated for all CEMA countries resulted in a payment crisis in Romania also and, ultimately, compelled all CEMA countries to carry out sensible adjustments to their current accounts in hard currencies--in other words to cut their hard currency imports.

Since then, imports from Western countries have dropped from almost \$50 billion to \$42.2 billion in 1985.

Various Countries' Balance Sheets Characterized by Some Resignation

When we seek to briefly characterize developments in the various CEMA countries, some degree of resignation seems to predominate.

During the past five years, political leadership in the USSR changed from Brezhnev to Andropov, subsequently to Chernenko and finally to Gorbachev. Though favorable prices of crude helped keep USSR indebtedness relatively low, domestic economic problems were barely touched in the course of these years. Agriculture may best be described as having suffered "five years of failed harvests." Grain harvests in the entire 5-year period failed to even approximate the average of 1976-1980, and at that we need to note that the 1979 and 1980 harvests were already no more than mediocre.

As regards changes in the political leadership, Poland almost kept pace with the USSR. Gierek's ouster in September 1980 brought in Kania who, in turn, was replaced by Jaruzelski in 1982. Expectations of economic reform in Poland, rekindled in the Solidarnosc period, were not directly extinguished by the introduction of martial law. Still, following some slight advances in the introduction of reforms that the Polish Government even under Messner feels obligated to proceed with from time to time, resignation and disappointment are rife. After a brief recovery by the national income in 1983 and 1984--rather moderate when considered against the decline of 1981 and 1982--we may now discern the danger of a prolonged stagnation, because the authorities are evidently unable to more efficiently use the resources at their disposal.

No change in leadership occurred in Romania. The adjustment to an adverse foreign trade situation was carried out with a rigor similar to the one exercised in the 1960's to achieve a leap in industrialization. Romanian policy was designed at any price to improve the current account in hard currencies and, subsequently, maintain a large surplus for several years. It also confronted the country with severe shortages of supplies. Living conditions are very poor indeed. Everything is rationed--from energy to foodstuffs.

At the conclusion of a 5-year period with relatively satisfactory industrial growth but only slight advances in agriculture, Bulgaria is struggling with energy and water shortages. While frequent changes in the organizational structure of economic administration suggest the wish to reform the system, they have as yet contributed little to the settlement of outstanding problems.

Though reformist expectations were only partially met in Hungary, the country was at least able to keep the market equilibrium. In some sectors the officially approved private economy indeed noticeably improved supplies for the general public. Hungary has so far pursued a policy of "diving through," in other words carried out the slightest possible foreign trade adjustments. This has left the Hungarian economy in a rather precarious state that might, in the case of adverse external influences, quickly result in a renewed current account deficit and a rise in hard currency debts.

By cutting imports in 1982 and getting into the oil re-export business, the GDR has somewhat widened the scope of its current account. In the past five years, though, supply problems have increased in the GDR also, despite a somewhat more beneficial investment policy in industry (albeit this seriously neglected the infrastructure) and the satisfactory development of agriculture.

Czechoslovakia improved its current account and noticeably reduced its hard currency debts. However, following two years of stagnation, it was able to record only moderate growth. Consumption, in particular, stagnated. Supply problems have increased, though a recent change in farm policy--favoring private subsidiary activity--resulted in some success. The industrial structure was not adjusted to more modern developments and is more than ever obsolete in many large sectors.

All CEMA countries are affected by the following problems: Slow economic growth in the West and weak demand for imports have clearly exacerbated their

problems with regard to exports to the West. None of the CEMA countries was able to keep its market shares for finished goods. A few countries managed to improve their market position on Western markets by expanding their crude oil business: The GDR, Romania and the USSR.

Technology Imports No Substitute for Economic Reforms

Looking back further, we note that the 1970's tide of technology imports from the West was not reflected in improved competitive capacity on Western markets. Indeed, I am almost tempted to say that the imports of modern equipment merely resulted in greater debts. Overemphasis on equipment was accompanied by the neglect of economic factors. It was often assumed that equipment imports could substitute for economic reforms. Hardly anything changed with regard to the inadequate orientation of products to consumer needs, defects in design, quality and service, the lack of product reliability and the irregularity of deliveries.

As the result of the limitation of imports by export earnings and the debt service required, one problem has become more and more noticeable in past years: Raw materials and energy shortages are increasingly severe. Some CEMA countries actually fear stagnation, because the available resources cannot be expanded by imports. Consequently, energy and raw materials conservation has been on the agenda for several years, but the results have tended to be comparatively modest. Specific raw materials and energy consumption is still very much greater in the East than in the West.

Each new 5-year plan arouses new expectations, and that goes for the coming one, too. However, the initial phase of this 5-year period is characterized by several uncertainties, making it very hard indeed to even remotely assess the prospects for the coming years. At the present time an economist is able only either to speculate or remain silent. What are these uncertainties?

The Problem of Sinking Oil Prices

First of all we have the effects of sinking oil prices, declining interest rates and the drop in the value of the dollar. It is impossible to foretell when these declines will end, whether they will result in a new equilibrium or in a new upward movement of prices.

If oil prices were to fall by 30 percent⁽¹⁾ and the volume of crude oil and oil products in exports to the West remain the same as in 1984, the CSSR and Poland would lose \$35 million in oil exports, Bulgaria and Hungary \$70 million, Romania and the GDR around \$650 million, the USSR almost \$7 billion.

Most CEMA countries, though, also obtain oil from the OPEC countries, mainly in the form of barter contracts against plants or weapons deliveries. Assuming that here, too, the volume will remain the same as in 1984, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will enjoy a generally slightly beneficial effect,

and so probably will Bulgaria, although data on Bulgarian imports of crude are very inexact and unreliable. Romania will definitely benefit to the tune of \$200 million.

Admittedly, Poland may benefit slightly from the oil trade, but we need at the same time to take the effects on coal prices into account. Poland must be expected to lose some \$150 million net in the energy sector (though it will record a net gain, because its load of interest payments will be eased even more).

The GDR also will suffer with regard to its re-exports of Soviet oil. Estimates based on OECD oil import statistics and other Western sources indicate a net loss of \$250 million. Calculations based on a partly published GDR energy balance sheet(2) suggest a net book loss of \$500 million. A serious decline in oil prices might well swallow the GDR's entire current account surplus.

The USSR imported 14 million tons crude oil from developing countries in 1984. A 30 percent drop in oil prices reduces the value of these imports by \$1 billion. In addition to the \$6 billion net losses in the foreign trade in oil, we must take account in the case of the USSR of the adverse effects of exchange rate shifts also. The USSR gets paid in dollars for most of its exports but purchases its imports mainly from Western Europe. As a result it loses at least another \$3 billion purchasing power by the decline of the dollar from DM2.95 to DM2.40. The Soviet Union has only limited possibilities for making good this loss of purchasing power by raising sales of gold and cutting grain imports. Although it may well be temporarily more active on international financial markets and demonstrate increased interest in the purchase of plant on a buy back basis, it will still have to reduce imports of industrial commodities from the West. (Unless, of course, oil prices will soon rise once more.)

While the CEMA countries' losses on Western markets are fairly obvious, it remains to be seen whether the hypothetical gains with regard to imports from oil countries can be effectively translated into a transfer of resources. In the best case, the CEMA countries would be able to increase the volume of their oil purchases from the OPEC countries so that import values should remain the same at lower prices. This would involve a certain easing of their energy accounts and might favor economic growth in Eastern Europe. In the worst case, exports and imports would stay at the same volume, and then the East European countries would have to grant their trading partners rather precarious loans to the extent of their terms of trade profits. To be mentioned furthermore is the possibility that East European deliveries to the developing countries may well decline as a consequence of lower oil prices. Though this would free resources in the East European economies, it is highly doubtful whether such resources could be converted to increases in exports to the West.

The medium term effects of lower oil prices on the trade relations of the East European Countries and the USSR are quite similar. If oil prices should remain low on the world market for several years, oil prices in internal CEMA

trade are set to begin dropping from 1987 on as per the price formula currently in effect. The USSR's trade surplus would then gradually turn into a deficit. It is highly unlikely that the bilateral trade agreements between the East European countries and the USSR will be adjusted with regard to volume to the new price situation in the course of the new 5-year plan period. The USSR may be expected to insist on the observance of current volumes and--in defiance of the agreements now in effect--insist on the early repayment of the loans granted Eastern Europe. In other words, Eastern European terms of trade profits are unlikely in the coming 5-year plan period to be realized as the transfer of resources.

The drop in interest rates on the Western financial markets benefits all CEMA countries equally. A 1 percent reduction eases the burden on CEMA current accounts by \$600 million, the Polish current account alone by almost \$300 million. If interest rates were to decline below 7 percent, even Poland's current account might be in balance. Poland will therefore generally profit from the change in the world economic situation.

Even more important are the growth stimulating effects of falling energy prices and declining interest rates. If economic growth in Western Europe were to speed up to more than 3 percent, Western import inclinations would rise very strongly. This would improve the opportunities for the Eastern Bloc countries to raise their exports of finished goods to the West.

It will depend on the will and the ability of the CEMA countries to pursue a thoroughgoing economic reform whether this opportunity will be used to build up stable markets rather than just temporarily raise exports to the West. In fact the circumstances seem to be uniquely favorable. The incapacity and unwillingness to carry out reforms has frequently been described in the following terms: When times are bad, the economy cannot be reformed, when they are good, reforms are not needed. Eastern Europe's problems are still very much present, and the will to reform is noticeable.

Uncertainty about Developments in the USSR

Much will depend on developments in the USSR. Here we touch upon a new area of uncertainties. The top Soviet leaders very definitely manifested their "problem awareness" at the 27th CPSU Congress, and they certainly were not sparing of their criticism. There are not many doubts about the objectives of their economic policy. After all, is there any political leader who does not wish his country's economy to flourish, to be efficient and strong? It remains to be seen what is going to be done about all this.

An entire series of organizational changes was announced. Super ministries were created for agriculture, machine construction and transportation. They are to assume the duties of various organizations and former ministries.

Concurrent with this centralization of economic power there is much talk in the USSR of greater enterprise responsibilities and rights.

It is probably going to be decisive how the mostly vague and often contradictory guidelines are to be translated into concrete measures. Some

changes in the management of agriculture have been laid out pretty clearly. In future sovkhozes and kolkhozes are to conclude contracts with the state purchasing organizations for all produce with the exception of grain. The quantities to be delivered are to be fixed for the entire 5-year plan period. Contracts will not be amended even if, for example, harvests are outstanding. Instead farm enterprises are to be authorized as they deem best to sell, process, consume or feed to livestock any harvest yields in excess of their contractual obligations. If sales of the surpluses are not to be obstructed by administrative measures or the farmers angered by harassing police controls of trucks loaded for the cities, the new system may well bring about a noticeable recovery of Soviet agriculture in the medium term.

Doubtlessly the change of power to Gorbachev has resulted in much movement in the USSR. However, we cannot yet discern the direction of the changes. When we discuss possible reforms in the USSR, we must not forget that a far-reaching decentralization may well loose centrifugal forces in the USSR. After all, some of the peripheral republics of the USSR are in many respects more advanced in economic terms than the central Russian region. The same holds true with regard to a comparison between the Eastern European countries and the USSR. Some Western observers therefore believe that Gorbachev is behaving more adroitly than Krushchev: before embarking on real reforms, he is making sure of the support of the political cadres. This assessment may be correct, but in this case we must realize that the political leaders in the East European countries are also prey to uncertainties. If these reflections should be correct, Gorbachev will have to ensure the loyalty of the political leaders in Eastern Europe as well before deciding on radical reforms in the USSR. In principle this may be done in one of two ways: by special consideration for the specific interests of the various East European countries or by the enforcement of a political line with the help of the East European party leaders dependent on Moscow.

The second approach predominated in the past. We will have to wait and see the role to be assumed by the Soviet leaders upon the age-related reshuffle of the top East European party leaders that is bound to occur in the coming years.

The Plans

The CEMA countries' economic plans for 1986 and the draft 1986-1990 5-Year Plans of the various Eastern countries so far published very likely assumed a very different world economic situation than that we are confronted with today.

Last year the CEMA countries suffered reverses in their economic growth. The growth of the national income slowed to 3.2 percent (1984: 3.8 percent). Exceptionally cold weather early in the year, especially in southeastern Europe led to the temporary collapse of energy supplies and the transportation system. In most Eastern Bloc countries, though, industrial output recovered in the course of 1985 and, at 3.9 percent, achieved a generally satisfactory result. Following a very good harvest in 1984, no great rise in farm production had been expected in Eastern Europe. However, due to the prolonged drought, farm output suffered a serious decline in the southeast European

Indices of Economic Growth in the CEMA Countries (annual percentage growth)

	1981-1985	1985	1986 Plan	1986-1990 Plan
Bulgaria				
National Income	3.7	1.8	4.0	4.1-4.6
Industry	4.5	4.0	4.5	4.6-5.4
Agriculture	0.1	-9.0	7.4	3.9-4.5
Investments	4.1	2.6(2)	11.6(2)	4.6-5.4(1)
CSSR				
National Income	1.8	3.3(2)	3.3(3)	3.4-3.5(3)
Industry	2.7	3.4	2.6	2.8-3.4
Agriculture	1.8	-1.6	2.5	0.7-1.0
Investments	-0.9	6.5	4.4(2)	1.0-2.3(1)
GDR				
National Income	4.5	4.8	4.4	4.4-4.7
Industry	4.2	4.4	4.3	8.3-8.6(4)
Agriculture	2.7	3.2(2)	0.3	1.5
Investments	0.5	10.7(2)	2.0(2)	2.0(2)
Poland				
National Income	-0.8	3.0	3.2-3.5	3.0-4.0
Industry	0.3	3.8	3.2-3.6	.
Agriculture	2.1	0.9	2.4-3.0	.
Investments	-2.7	5.0	4.2	5.8(1)
Romania				
National Income	4.4	5.9	12.0	7.6-8.3
Industry	4.0	4.9	8.9	6.0-6.5
Agriculture	3.5	1.0(2)	6.0-7.0	6.2-7.0
Investments	-0.1	1.6	6.0-8.0	1.8-2.5(1)
Hungary				
National Income	1.4	-1.0	2.3-2.7	2.8-3.2
Industry	2.0	0.8	2.0-2.5	2.7-3.0
Agriculture	0.6	-6.0	3.0-3.5	3.3-4.2
Investments	-3.6	-4.6(2)	0.0(2)	5.3(2)
USSR				
National Income	3.5	3.0(2)	4.0(2)	3.7-4.2(2)
Industry	3.8	3.9	4.3	3.9-4.4
Agriculture	2.1	0.0	4.4	3.3-3.9
Investments	3.5	3.0	7.6	3.4-3.9(1)
CEMA (7)				
National Income	3.2	3.2	4.3	4.1(2)
Industry	3.5	3.9	4.3	.
Agriculture	2.1	-0.3	4.1	.
Investments	2.4	3.4	6.7	3.7(2)

(1) Referring to the average of the completed 5-year period

(2) Estimated

(3) Gross national income

(4) Net production

countries. Agricultural production stagnated another year in the USSR. The total result (-0.3 percent) for the entire CEMA region is therefore disappointing; only the GDR, Poland and the CSSR had reason to be pleased.

The 1986 plans generally (except for the GDR) provide for a speed-up of growth (to 4.3 percent in the region as a whole). This is to be achieved by a moderate acceleration in industrial output (4.3 percent) and the strong recovery of agriculture (4.1 percent). Though the investment plans cannot be compared with statistical data for earlier periods, we do have some indications that most CEMA countries are much inclined to speed up investments. On the other hand we hear repeated complaints that the general public had suffered unduly from the austerity policy of the past few years, though the plans do not suggest that any speed-up in the growth of consumption is planned.

The 1986-1990 5-Year Plan drafts of various countries published thus far basically display the same characteristics as the 1986 plan. By comparison with the past plan quinquennial, average growth is to speed up somewhat. All 5-year plans appear to assume that economic growth will be slower at the beginning of the period and revive very definitely toward the end of the 1980's. Industry is expected to grow at roughly the same rate or only a little more than in the past five years. Agriculture, on the other hand, will probably be strongly revived and grow at a not much slower pace than industry. The relatively ambitious planned growth of agriculture runs the danger of livestock production expanding faster than crop production. This runs counter to generally held farm policy and might cause increased difficulties with regard to fodder supplies.

The planned growth of gross industrial and farm production is less than that of the national income. This is possible only if accompanied by substantial materials conservation--and the estimates for that appear in some instances to be too high. In this sector, too, the plans run the danger of triggering increased imbalances. The distribution of the national income is to proceed as per the 1986 plan. Consumption will grow moderately at best, additional resources are to be used for investments, in particular for the renewal of production capacities. More rapidly growing investments in the East will improve the opportunities for Western equipment exports, but from the standpoint of the domestic economy, this policy increases the danger of greater imbalances on the consumer goods market.

FOOTNOTES

1. In March 1986, crude oil prices on the spot markets were already 50 percent below average prices in 1985.
2. J. Bethkenhagen, "The GDR's Primary Energy Consumption and its Structure," DIW-WOCHENBERICHT No 51-52, 1985.

11698

CSO: 2300/410

INSPECTIONS REVEAL INDUSTRY CONTINUES TO WASTE FUEL, ENERGY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 May 86 p 5

[Article by Alfonz Bednarič, Prague: "Still a Lot of Poor Management; Comments on the Results of the Power Industry Inspection"]

[Text] In accordance with its action plan of the past year, employees of the State Energy Inspectorates of the CSR and SSR conducted a number of inspections aimed mainly at uncovering shortcomings in the use of fuel and energy.

Last year both energy inspectorates inspected 734 organizations. They found shortcomings in 425 of them in terms of meeting management standards for fuel and power consumption. To be sure, as a percentage this is fewer instances than found in similar inspections of 1984; but nevertheless shortcomings found in this way represent annual unnecessary energy losses amounting to 62,597 tons of standard fuel equivalent. Among the most prevalent instances, that are also the easiest to eliminate without expensive investments, are poorly managed boiler operations. Other such cases include poor insulation of heat distribution pipes, pressurized air systems and the like. During their inspections these employees also monitored the success that had been achieved in implementing the findings of commissions for comprehensive socialist rationalization. Unfortunately, in 30 enterprises (or 4.1 percent of those inspected) they found that the findings of the commission had not been acted on. This is a great economic and political shame.

For the shortcomings they discovered the employees of the state energy inspectorate levied 296 fines on the inspected organizations in the amount of Kcs 1,256,100. Of these fines 232 were personal fines levied against managers, and amounting to Kcs 109,100. The punished organizations include the Stavovyroba plant of the Surface Construction Enterprise in Kosice. For the failure to act on mandated measures that followed a previous inspection--regarding the inefficient burning of brown coal in boilers and the failure to make use of condensate, thus causing annual losses of 110 tons of standard fuel equivalent--the organization was fined Kcs 20,000.

At a divisional plant of the East Slovak Coal Dumps in Roznava there was an unjustified dumping area where various types of fuel were mixed together. For

this the enterprise paid a fine of Kcs 10,000 and the responsible manager, Kcs 300.

The personal penalties have not been very high, averaging Kcs 470 for each fine that is levied. Nor do the fines levied on organizations serve their intended purposes--i.e. they do not have a significant enough impact on the elimination of discovered errors and shortcomings. It is still much easier to pay a fine than to develop what may be complicated measures to improve the use of fuel and power.

Undisciplined Consumption

Regarding inspections of the adherence to consumption discipline, their scope has corresponded to the supply situation in the economy. Most of them took place at the beginning of last year. For the entire year of 1985 inspectorate employees made 433 inspections of electricity consumption at large- and medium-sized consumers, and found that 33.9 percent of these were consuming power and fuel in an undisciplined manner. This was frequently a matter of exceeding consumption ceilings and the unjustified operation of unrestricted battery-operated and direct heating appliances.

Similar inspections were conducted last year for the first time at so-called small scale consumers in the socialist sector which also consume a relatively large amount of fuel and power each year. Of 17 inspected firms, 3 were found with problems in the exceeding of consumption limits. Inspectorate employees visited 699 consumers of heating gases and found 51 undisciplined large- and medium-size users. A relatively large number, some 42.4 percent of consumers, were found to operate inefficiently in housing management, both in terms of deliveries and use of heat and of warm process water.

These undisciplined users included, for instance, Salo Duslo. In an environment where control levels 7 and 9 had been declared the above firm exceeded its approved consumption of electricity by 12.9 megawatts, for which it received fines of Kcs 60,000. The Humenne plant of the East Slovak Brick Works exceeded its 3-day allowance for electricity by 1,005 kilowatt hours and failed to record every hour of electricity consumption as provided for in the regulations. The two employees who were responsible received total fines of Kcs 2,100.

Many of the guilty parties, the undisciplined consumers, were discovered by inspectorate employees by consuming natural gas at a time when control level No 8 was in effect, according to which only households and food industry plants would receive this fuel while other organizations would have to halt production. At the end of last year when the consumption of natural gas, in line with the decree of the Energy Commission of the CSSR Government, was to decline by 5 percent, only 7.5 percent of the inspected consumers knew about this decree and only 2.5 percent reduced their consumption by the requested amount. That means that most of the middle management ranks failed to fulfill their binding task and send this guideline down the chain of command.

Comprehensive Inspections

Agencies of the power inspectorate in the CSR and the SSR conducted comprehensive inspections last year at 135 selected organizations concerning the sophistication of management of available power and of the management of fuel and energy. These inspections were focused mainly on the uncovering of shortcomings in the assurance of rationalization measures that were mandated in the tasks of State Priority Program 02. It is significant that not a single inspected organization was without shortcomings. After the inspection it was stated that the discovered and easily rectified energy losses in these organizations alone were 3,624 tons of standard fuel equivalent per year, which is 4.2 percent of the annual volume of fuel and power consumed by them.

Consultative Activities of the Inspectorate

It is said that it is easier to prevent a disease than to cure it. This is also the motto of the energy inspectorates of both republics. For this reason they focus their efforts on inspecting preparatory and design documentation for construction projects in terms of the efficient utilization of fuel and power. Last year they inspected 10,616 sets of documentation and stated that 42 percent of them had been formulated with the requisite level of rigor. They determined that 41 percent of these documentation sets had design deficiencies. This documentation could be approved after modifications that incorporated the recommendations of the inspection. They also returned for rewriting 17 percent of the reviewed documents. After modifying and adding to these the foundation had been set for reducing fuel and power consumption by 111,890 tons of standard fuel equivalent and by 32 gigawatt hours of electricity during the course of the construction project.

Agencies of the State Energy Inspectorate offer the designer, investor and other employees free consultative services. Last year they served 3,000 customers. This allowed them to resolve many questions related to the use of secondary and renewable energy resources and the choice of a fuel and power base.

We have relatively large potential electricity generation resources in so-called small hydropower plants. Of 94 inspections of these hydropower resources last year agencies of the State Energy Inspectorate found that in 72 instances this potential power source was not being used to its fullest. As a result they presented eight proposals that organizations responsible for the use of these resources reduce their annual "allocation" of electrical work by 1,889 megawatts. Despite the above shortcomings small hydroelectric power plants delivered 546.9 gigawatts of electricity to the national grid last year.

Relatively large shortcomings were noted by inspectorate offices when monitoring compliance with the principle of the economical operation of electric heating and the preparation of warm process water. Of 54 monitored facilities only 9 were without any problems.

The Future

Both state energy inspectorates will continue (in addition to their monitoring function) to focus their efforts on assistance to those who want to reduce their consumption of fuel and power, on the utilization of nontraditional fuel and power resources, and will continue to provide free and voluntarily paid services. Within the framework of the Energy Institute they will assist in training employees in the energy management divisions of various organizations, enterprises, factories, and cooperatives as to how to improve upon or raise existing qualifications. This involves, for instance, post-graduate courses. Clearly, we still have to resolve the question of recognizing a successful completion of this course as a sufficient basis for granting the requisite qualifications, thereby moving into the proper pay classification.

9276/9312

CS0: 2400/311

HONECKER, CARLSSON INITIATE TRADE TALKS, DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS

West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 27 Jun 86 p 6

[Text] Stockholm (DPA)--Yesterday in Stockholm the governments of Sweden and the GDR signed four contracts for increasing the present level of trade and for providing legal assistance. The signatures were those of the ministers responsible for their respective fields and those of the GDR Head of State and Party Chief Honecker and the Swedish Prime Minister Carlsson.

Upon the conclusion of the event Honecker, who since Wednesday has been on an official 3-day visit to Sweden, explained in response to journalists' questions, that the GDR, like Sweden, has a strong interest in a favorable outcome for the Stockholm Conference on Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE).

The leader of the GDR delegation to the CDE, Buehring, explained on Wednesday, that "probable failures" of the Stockholm Conference should not lead to a blockade of the CSCE process. Honecker commented on the state of the CDE negotiations with the following words: "You know, of course, the source of the difficulties--[just] as in Bern."

At the Bern CSCE meeting for experts dealing with human contacts, which took place a few weeks ago, a resolution was defeated because of a protest by the United States.

In his conversations with Honecker the head of the Swedish Government named as the most significant themes questions dealing with trade and environmental protection. He also presented his guest from the GDR with human rights issues which included a list of names, and noted a "positive reaction" in response to this.

Honecker's delegation, which also includes [Guenter] Mittag, the Politburo member responsible for economic issues and Foreign Minister Fischer, was received yesterday at a dinner hosted by King Carl XVI Gustav and Queen Sylvia of Sweden. The SED chief returns to East Berlin today following a visit to the grave of the German writer Tucholsky, who died in 1935 while in exile in Sweden.

/8309

CSO: 2300/460

STATUTES ADOPTED BY 8TH BCP INCLUDE RECENT AMENDMENTS

Sofia PARTIEN ZHIVOT in Bulgarian No 7 May 86 pp 11-23

[Statutes of the Bulgarian Communist Party unanimously adopted by the 8th BCP Congress (with amendments and supplements made at the 9th, 10th, 12th and 13th Party Congresses)]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party is a leading detachment of the working class and the universally acknowledged leader of the people in the struggle for socialism and communism in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The party is organized on the basis of the voluntary participation of the most conscientious segment of the working class, agricultural working people and people's intelligentsia.

As a Marxist party, the Bulgarian Communist Party was founded at the Buzludzha Congress in 1891. In the course of a merciless struggle against the bourgeoisie and opportunism, it grew and established itself as the revolutionary vanguard of the Bulgarian working class. It continued and raised to a qualitatively new level the democratic and revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian people. Under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the party of leftwing socialists adopted the ideas of Leninism and in 1919 became cofounder of the Third Communist International, and changed its name to Bulgarian Communist Party. Always learning from the CPSU, and on the basis of its own experience, the BCP changed and developed as a combat-tempered Marxist-Leninist party. It created and headed the alliance between the working class and the peasants in the struggle against capitalist domination.

During World War II, the party rallied the patriotic forces of the people in the Fatherland Front against fascism and capitalism and for national independence and social liberation. Directly relying on the victorious advance of the Soviet army in the Balkans, it organized a people's armed uprising, which ensured the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria on 9 September 1944. The bourgeois-fascist dictatorship was overthrown, the country was freed from imperialist dependence and a people's democratic regime was established, as a specific feature of proletarian dictatorship. This inaugurated the era of Bulgaria's socialist development. Guided by the party, and with the selfless and comprehensive aid of the Soviet Union, and through fraternal cooperation with the other socialist countries, capitalism was

eliminated in our country and the exploitation of man by man abolished. The moral and political unity of the people was established and continued to strengthen; the victory of the socialist social system was secured. The Bulgarian Communist Party--the party of the working class, which has always expressed the basic interest of all working people--earned the trust of the Bulgarian people and is confidently leading them toward socialism and communism.

The April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of the party and society. The party's April line provided conditions for the extensive development of the creative initiative and energy of the party members and the entire people and for the fast development of the material and spiritual forces of the country. This is the Leninist general line of the Bulgarian Communist Party in building a developed socialist society and a gradual transition to communism. It is Marxism-Leninism in action, the living unity and interaction between theory and practice and the concentrated expression of revolutionary thought and action.

The BCP is the supreme form of the political organization of society, the nucleus of the political system and the leading and guiding force of socialist society. The party ascribes an organized, planned and scientific nature to the struggle and creativity of the working people for attaining the final objective, the victory of communism. In the course of building a developed socialist society, its leading role legitimately expanded and, from a party of the working class, it gradually grew into the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the people and became the party of the whole people.

In its overall activities, the party is invariably guided by Marxist-Leninist doctrine and the program for building a developed socialist society in Bulgaria, formulated on its basis. It is making its contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and in enriching the theory and practice of socialism. It educates the working class and all working people in the ideas of scientific socialism and wages a decisive struggle against bourgeois ideology and all manifestations of revisionism and dogmatism.

At each stage in the development of society the party gives way to the new and is at the head of renovation processes. Its main concern is to link the advantages of socialism with the scientific and technical revolution, to create the necessary economic, political and ideological climate for its implementation in our country and turn it into the basic factor of socioeconomic development.

The BCP builds and develops its activities on the principle of democratic centralism, strictly observing and enriching the Leninist norms of party life and principles of management. It steadfastly applies the collective principle in management and the method of criticism and self-criticism. It comprehensively develops intraparty democracy. The main prerequisites for the strength and power of the Bulgarian Communist Party are its unbreakable ties with the working class and all working people, its ideological and organization unity and the conscious iron discipline of the party members. The party does not tolerate manifestations of factionalism and cliquishness.

The BCP is an inseparable part of the international communist and worker movements. It is guided firmly and inflexibly by the tried principles of proletarian internationalism and deems it its supreme duty to contribute to strengthening the unity and cohesion of the world socialist community and the international communist and worker movements, and to render comprehensive support in the struggle waged by the proletariat and democratic forces in the world for national and social liberation and for peace, democracy and socialism. To this effect it develops and strengthens fraternal relations with communist and worker parties, particularly with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the vanguard of the world communist movement.

The BCP follows firmly and consistently a foreign-policy course of peaceful coexistence, trust, good neighborly relations and understanding among the peoples in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world and against the arms race and the threat of thermonuclear war by establishing relations and developing unity of action with all revolutionary, democratic and peace-loving forces and helps in the development of maximally broad peace front.

I

Party Members, Their Obligations and Rights

1. Any citizen of the Bulgarian People's Republic, who accepts and is guided in his activities by the party's program and statutes, who actively participates and leads the working people in building a developed socialist society, who acts in one of the primary party organizations, who obeys the party's decisions and pays his membership dues, can be a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

2. A party member must:

a. Actively participate in party life and activities, and protect and strengthen the party's ideological-political and organization unity, which is a guarantee for its strength and invincibility;

b. Set an example with his labor activities and contribute to the full expansion of the forces of the collective in which he works; carefully manage and multiply socialist property; steadily enhance production efficiency, labor productivity and the quality of production and services; actively work for the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the perfecting of the socialist organization of labor; steadily improve his professional training, skill and general culture and study and apply leading experience; develop and support what is new and progressive and struggle against stagnation, bureaucracy, formalism, routine and conservatism;

c. Steadily strengthen the ties between the party and the people, promptly respond to the needs of the working people, explain to nonparty members the party's policies and decisions and contribute to the active participation of nonparty members in their implementation;

d. Actively participate in sociopolitical life and the administration of governmental and social affairs; contribute to the development of socialist

democracy and the development of the labor collective as the manager of socialist property; set an example of implementation of social duty; contribute to the development of socialist social relations and the development of the socialist competition and the assertion of a socialist way of life; participate in social life at his place of residence;

e. Master the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and disseminate them among the working people; steadily work for developing within himself the quality of a comprehensively developed individual and for upgrading the upbringing and consciousness of the working people; decisively struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and religious prejudices, against any deviations from Marxism-Leninism and against manifestations of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism;

f. With his personal life set the example of strict observance of the norms of communist morality; actively struggle against manifestations of negligence, a consumerist approach, philistinism, careerism, corruption, moral slackness, solicitation and other negative phenomena;

g. Educate the working people in the spirit of the ideas of socialist patriotism and internationalism, struggle against the vestiges of nationalism and national nihilism, work for the steady strengthening and enrichment of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and unity and cohesion among the members of the socialist system and the world communist and worker movements and the movements for national and social liberation and the strengthening of fraternal ties with workers and other working people in all countries;

h. Help to develop criticism and self-criticism within the party and society; be intolerant of any manifestations which hinder criticism; set the example of self-criticism and struggle against complacency and conceit based on accomplishments, against ostentation and verbosity; promptly report to the leading party bodies, including the party's Central Committee, weaknesses and errors in the work, regardless of the individuals committing them; periodically report to the primary organization and corresponding party bodies on the implementation of statutory obligations and assignments; assist in developing and enhancing the role of control and self-control in the life of the labor collective and society;

i. Whatever his position, always observe the Leninist principles of the selection of cadres based on their political, practical and moral qualities and struggle against the promotion of cadres on the basis of friendship, personal loyalty, landsmanship and nepotism, and assist in the development of the democratic principle in work with cadres;

j. Observe most strictly party and state discipline and socialist legality, which are equally binding to all party members; be intolerant of anyone who violates discipline and legality regardless of position; be truthful and honest to the party and the people; keep party and state secrets; show high political vigilance;

k. Help strengthen the defense power and security of the Bulgarian People's Republic and tirelessly struggle for peace and friendship among nations.

3. Every party member has the right to:

a. Elect and be elected to party bodies;

b. Receive information and participate in discussing problems of party policy and practical activities at party meetings, conferences, congresses, meetings of party committees and buros and in the party press; freely to express himself, submit proposals and openly support his views in making decisions on discussed problems;

c. Criticize at party meetings, conferences, congresses and sessions of party committees and buros weaknesses and errors in the work and behavior of any party member, whether a rank-and-file member or manager, or of any party organization and body. Anyone who suppresses or persecutes others for criticism shall be held responsible by the party and may even be expelled from the BCP;

d. Be personally present whenever decisions concerning his own activities and behavior are being made;

e. Submit any questions, suggestions or petitions to any party body whatsoever, including the party Central Committee and congress, and demand of them an answer.

4. Party members can be accepted on an individual basis only. Only the most conscientious and active workers, agricultural working people and intellectuals, 18 years of age or older, who are active and loyal to the cause of communism, may become party members.

Young people between the ages of 18 and 24 may become party members only if they are members of the DKMS.

The procedure for becoming a party member is the following:

a. The candidate for BCP membership must submit a petition to the primary party organization, accompanied by recommendations issued by three party members, who have been members of the party for no less than 3 years and have known the candidate well for no less than 2 years.

A member of the DKMS who wishes to become a party member must mandatorily submit a recommendation of the DKMS Committee with the right to approve the acceptance of Komsomol members, discussed by the DKMS society of which he is a member. Such recommendation is the equivalent of the recommendation by one party member.

BCP Central Committee members and candidate members and members of the party's TsKRRK will abstain from issuing recommendations;

b. After careful study, the question of acceptance into the party will be discussed and resolved as a rule at an open meeting of the primary party organization in the presence of the candidate. The candidate for whom more than one-half of the members of the party organization have voted shall be

considered as accepted in the party. The decision will become effective subsequent to its approval by the city, rayon or obshtina committee.

The presence of the sponsors is not mandatory when the question of acceptance is discussed;

c. Bulgarian citizens who have been members of other Marxist-Leninist communist and worker parties may transfer to the Bulgarian Communist Party in accordance with an instruction issued by the BCP Central Committee.

5. The guarantors are responsible for the accuracy of the data included in their recommendations.

6. The probationary period of the person accepted as party member shall begin on the day at which the primary party organization has approved his membership.

7. The procedure for joining the party and for issuing and recording membership cards, removing the name of a party member from the roster of one organization and assigning him to another, shall be based on BCP Central Committee instructions.

8. The party status of a BCP member who has failed to pay his membership dues or has been systematically absent from meetings of the primary party organization for 3 months shall be discussed at a party meeting. Should it be determined that the party member has actually broken his ties with the party organization without legitimate reasons, the party organization may decide to terminate his membership. The decision must be ratified by the city, rayon or obshtina committee.

9. The following party punishments may be imposed for violations of the BCP statutes or other infractions committed by party members: remark, scolding, reprimand and strict scolding with a warning entered in the party records.

Expulsion from the party is the most severe party punishment.

In considering the question of imposing a party punishment and, particularly, expulsion from the party, the greatest possible attention and comradely concern must be displayed; the extent to which the charges against the party member are substantiated must be considered thoroughly.

Measures of party influence are applied in cases of insignificant delinquencies, such as comradely criticism, warning, drawing attention, and others.

Offenses committed by party members must be considered by the primary party organization of which he is a member. Should this be done by a superior party body, the latter must inform the primary party organization of the fact.

No later than 1 year after a punishment imposed on a party member, the primary party organization must review his behavior and efforts to correct the offenses.

The procedure for imposing, lifting and rescinding party punishments is based on the BCP Central Committee and TsKRR instruction.

10. The question of expelling a party member is decided at a meeting held by the primary party organization of which he is a member. The expulsion decision is considered passed if approved by simple majority by the members of the organization. It becomes effective only after its ratification by the city, rayon or obshtina committee.

Until the expulsion decision has been ratified, the party member retains his membership card, attends party meetings and pays membership dues.

A member who has been expelled, who has dropped out or been punished has the right to submit an appeal or objection to the superior bodies, including the Central Control-Auditing Commission within a period of 3 months.

11. The question of party prosecution of a member or candidate member of okrug, obshtina, rayon, city or other committee and respective control-auditing or auditing commission shall be discussed and resolved by the primary party organization of which he is a member.

In cases of expelling from the party a member or candidate member of a party committee or member of the control-auditing or auditing commission, the motion of the primary party organization must be reported to the respective committee for resolution. The resolution is considered adopted if no less than two-thirds of the committee members have voted in favor.

The question of party prosecution of a member or candidate member of the BCP Central Committee or a member of the Central Control-Auditing Commission must be resolved by the Central Committee. The question of expelling from the party a member or candidate member of the BCP Central Committee or a member of the Central Control-Auditing Commission must be resolved by the party congress and, between congresses, by the Central Committee Plenum. The decision is considered passed if no less than two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee have voted in favor.

12. A party member who has committed a crime shall be expelled from the party.

13. The decisions of party organizations on expelling a member from the party and the appeal filed by those expelled from the party or those upon whom other punishments have been imposed shall be considered by the respective party bodies within no less than 2 months from the day they were received.

II

Party Organizational Structure Intraparty Democracy

14. Democratic centralism is the basic principle of the organizational structure and party activities. This means:

- a. Electiveness of all leading party bodies from top to bottom;
 - b. Periodical accountability of party bodies to their party organizations and to superior bodies;
 - c. Strict party discipline and obedience by the minority to the majority, equally mandatory to all;
 - d. Decisions of superior bodies are strictly mandatory to lower bodies;
 - e. Strict observance of the rights, obligations and responsibilities of party members, bodies and organizations;
 - f. Autonomy of party organizations in solving local problems, to the extent to which their decisions do not conflict with party policy;
 - g. Publicity and public nature of the work of party bodies and organizations.
15. Relations among party members are based on party principle-mindedness, sincere comradeship and mutual aid, reciprocal respect, and criticism and self-criticism. They must be a model of socialist social relations.

All party members are equal; no privileges or restrictions based on position, past, merits or education are allowed.

16. The party is structured on the basis of the territorial-production characteristics: primary party organizations are created at the place of work or residence of the party members and are rallied within city, rayon, obshtina and okrug party organizations.

17. The meeting is the supreme body of the primary party organization; the conference or the general meeting is the supreme body of the plant, combine, establishment, village of other similar organization or the city, rayon and obshtina party organization; the conference is a supreme body of the okrug party organization; the congress is a supreme body of the entire party. They may pass resolutions with a quorum of more than one-half of the members of party organizations or elected delegates.

18. The meeting shall elect a buro or committee and the conference and congress a committee, which will head the entire work of the respective organizations. The decisions of party bodies and organizations shall be passed by simple majority vote, with the exception of the cases stipulated in Articles 4, 10, 11 and 21 of the statutes. The candidate members of party bodies shall participate in plenums and sessions in an advisory capacity.

19. The election of party bodies will take place through secret vote and in accordance with the BCP Central Committee instruction. The discussion of candidacies shall be separate for every candidate, in the course of which any party member (delegate) has the unlimited right to support or criticize, challenge and nominate other candidates. Candidates for which more than one-half of those with the right to vote have voted may be considered elected.

20. The principle of systematic renovation and continuity of membership is applied in the election of party bodies.

21. With his entire activities and behavior a member and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and of the okrug, obshtina, rayon, city or other party committee, or a member of the Central Control-Auditing Commission or of control-auditing (auditing) commissions of local party organizations must justify the high trust of the party. Should he fail to justify this trust, he cannot remain member of the respective party committee or control-auditing (auditing) commission.

The suspension of a member or candidate member of a party committee or a member of the control-auditing (auditing) commission is decided by a plenum of the respective committee or commission. The decision is considered passed if no less than two-thirds of the members have voted in favor.

22. Collectivity is the supreme principle of party leadership.

The cult of personality and related violations of collective leadership and intraparty democracy are incompatible with the Leninist norms of party life and leadership principles.

Collective leadership does not relieve the members of personal responsibility for their assignments.

23. The party bodies and organizations conduct their leading and guiding role within the framework of the constitution and the laws of the country, relying on the state and public bodies and organizations.

They provide political guidance for the proper functioning of the state power and management bodies, development of the activities of public organizations and various forms of self-management by the working people, respecting their organizational autonomy and not taking over their functions and tasks.

24. Delegate meetings and conferences of party activists or meetings of all party members may be convened to discuss important problems of the development of the country, okrug, obshtina, rayon, city, village, labor collective and others, to ensure their better solution and for purposes of discussing steps to carry out basic decisions of the Central Committee and local party bodies.

25. Participation in the free and businesslike discussion of problems of party policy in the individual organizations or the entire party is the inalienable right of every party member. Bold criticism and self-criticism can be developed and party discipline strengthened only on the basis of intraparty democracy.

The partywide discussion of important problems of party policy is allowed by decision of the BCP Central Committee. It must be held in such a way as to enable every party member freely to participate while, at the same time, prevent the forming of factions or result in any split within the party.

26. All party bodies and organizations provide systematic control over the implementation of their own decisions and the decisions of superior bodies.

The party's Central Committee can disband a party body or organization whose activities conflict with the ideas and organizational principles of the party and of the political line.

III

Higher Party Bodies

27. The congress is the supreme body of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Regular congresses may be summoned by the Central Committee no less than once every 5 years. An extraordinary congress must be convened on the initiative of the Central Committee or on the demand of no less than one-third of the total number of members represented at the last congress. The summoning of a party congress and its agenda must be announced no later than 2 months before the congress. The summoning of an extraordinary congress must be announced no less than 2.5 months before the congress.

The congress is considered legitimate if the delegates attending its represent no less than one-half of the number of party members who were represented at the last regular congress.

The norms of representation for a congress and the means of the election of delegates are determined by the Central Committee.

28. Should the party Central Committee fail to convene an extraordinary congress within the time stipulated in article 27, the organizations which have called for its convention may set up an organizational committee with the Central Committee rights for purposes of convening an extraordinary congress.

29. The congress:

- a. Discusses the reports submitted by the Central Committee and the Central Control-Auditing Commission and passes decisions based on them;
- b. Adopts, supplements and amends the party's program and statutes;
- c. Formulates the party line in domestic and foreign policy;
- d. Elects a Central Committee and a Central Control-Auditing Commission.

30. The party's Central Committee and Central Control-Auditing Commission consists of members stipulated by the congress. Should members leave the Central Committee, new members are inducted among the BCP Central Committee candidate members elected by the congress.

31. Between congresses, the party is headed by the Central Committee, which:

- a. Concretizes and develops the decisions of the party congress and manages their execution;

- b. Theoretically clarifies the crucial problems of society;
- c. Directs the work and is concerned with the development of the central bodies of the state and mass organizations;
- d. Chooses and assigns leading cadres;
- e. Allocates the party funds and guides and controls the execution of its budget;
- f. Represents the party in relations with other parties.

32. The BCP Central Committee keeps the party organizations regularly informed of its work.

33. The BCP Central Committee must hold no less than one plenary meeting every 4 months.

34. The tasks of the Central Control-Auditing Commission are the following:

- a. To consider liable in the eyes of the party members who have violated the party program and statutes, party and state discipline and party morality, and to promote the purity, unity and combat capability of the party;
- b. To consider complaints and appeals against decisions of local party bodies and organizations on expulsion from the party or imposition of other party punishments;
- c. To see to the prompt and accurate bookkeeping operations within the Central Committee apparatus, consider promptly and accurately suggestions, letters, reports, petitions, complaints and appeals received by the Central Committee;
- d. Formulate opinions on the drafting and investigating the execution of the budget, the proper use of monetary and material party funds and the proper management of party property.

If necessary, in connection with its activities, the Central Control-Auditing Commission may submit suggestions to the Central Committee.

The Central Control-Auditing Commission elects a buro, a chairman and deputy chairmen. It must hold meetings no less than once every 6 months.

The means through which the Central Control-Auditing Commission and the other control-auditing and auditing party bodies implement their functions are based on instructions of the BCP Central Committee and the TsKRR.

35. The BCP Central Committee elects: a Politburo, in charge of guiding the party's work between plenums, and a Secretariat, for current organizational-executive work and for controlling the implementation of party decisions.

The Central Committee elects a BCP Central Committee general secretary.

36. In order to strengthen leadership and political work in individual sectors in the building of socialism, which are of particular importance in social development, the party Central Committee has the right to set up political departments and other permanent or temporary units and to assign Central Committee party organizers who work on the basis of instructions issued by the Central Committee.

37. In the interval between party congresses, the BCP Central Committee may convene a national party conference to discuss important problems of party policy. The procedure for holding national party conferences is defined by the BCP Central Committee.

IV

Okrug, Obshtina, Rayon and City Party Organizations

38. The okrug organization rallies all obshtina organizations within the okrug. The Sofia city party organization has the status of okrug organization and consists of rayon organizations with the rights of obshtina organizations.

The obshtina organization rallies all primary party organizations in the obshtina. The obshtinas may set up city and rayon organizations.

The okrug, obshtina, rayon and city party organizations and their committees are guided in their activities by the party program and statutes, the resolutions of the congresses and the party Central Committee, and organize their execution on their territory.

The basic tasks of okrug, obshtina, rayon and city organizations and their committees are the following:

a. To ensure accurately and fully the implementation of party and state policy, provide political leadership for attaining highly efficient and highly organized development of the socioeconomic and cultural life of the territorial units, to make use of the highest achievements of scientific and technical progress and to find and apply new approaches, methods and forms of management.

To study objective processes and phenomena, public opinion and the feelings of the working people as well as acquired practical experience, and to identify and solve arising problems;

b. To direct and control the activities of the people's councils and administrative and economic bodies and organizations and to help them to apply a proper work style and method;

c. To make accurate choices and assignments of leading cadres and be concerned with the enhancement of their communist idea-mindedness, training and skills, to supervise them systematically and to provide them specific assistance in improving their style and work methods and to enhance their feeling of responsibility to the party and the people for their assignments;

d. To guide the primary party organizations and the upgrade their role and activeness in the life of labor collectives; to respect the autonomy and develop their activities and initiative and keep them informed of their work;

e. To provide systematic control over the implementation of party decisions and irreconcilably struggle against negative phenomena and their carriers;

f. To engage in political and organization work among the working people in order to enhance their social activeness in the implementation of the tasks of socialist building, to promote criticism among working people and to create conditions for the steady expansion and development of socialist democracy;

g. To organize ideological work and the study and mastery of Marxism-Leninism and the party's new theoretical developments and practical approaches; to be concerned with upgrading the communist consciousness of the working people and guide the local press and cultural-educational institutions;

h. To direct the activities of public organizations and movements and enhance their role in involving the population in the implementation of tasks of economic and cultural building and in the country's political life; to encourage the organizations of the trade unions, the Fatherland Front, the Komsomol and others to act as social guarantors for the implementation of individual aspects of party policy;

i. To apply on a broad scale the voluntary principle in the work of party, state and public bodies and organizations and to encourage and develop the state-public and public-state principles of management;

j. To inform promptly, fully and truthfully superior party bodies and primary organizations of their activities and to report to them on said activities;

k. To guide party organizations, state bodies and economic and public organizations in the qualitative fulfillment of tasks related to strengthening the country's defense, safety, public order and socialist legality.

39. The okrug party organizations and their committees implement party policy relying on obshtina, rayon and city organizations, promoting their self-initiative, properly combining sectorial with territorial economic management and other areas, and strengthening and developing organizational unity in political, organization and economic activities.

40. The obshtina, rayon and city party organizations and their committees provide political leadership in the comprehensive activities of obshtinas, rayons and cities; they directly guide the primary party organizations and the combine, plant, office, village and other party committees and direct their efforts in the implementation of the party's policy; they guide the activities of municipalities, people's councils and economic and public organizations in ensuring the highly efficient and highly organized development of settlement systems in all areas of social life.

Leading Bodies of Okrug Party Organizations

41. The okrug party conference is the highest body of the okrug party organization. Between conferences the okrug committee guides the overall activities of the organization.

42. Regular okrug conferences are convened by the okrug committee once every 2 or 3 years; extraordinary conferences may be convened by decision of the okrug committee or by request of one-third of the overall number of members of the okrug party organization.

The okrug committee determines the norms of representation to the okrug party conference. The okrug party conference discusses the accountability reports submitted by the okrug committee and the okrug control-auditing commission; if necessary, it deals with other problems of party, economic and agricultural life; it elects the okrug committee and the okrug control-auditing commission and delegates to the BCP Congress.

43. The okrug committee elects a buro, which includes the necessary number of secretaries. The buro must be approved by the Central Committee. Secretaries must have been party members for no less than 5 years.

44. The okrug committee plenum must convene no less than once every 3 months.

45. The tasks of the okrug control-auditing commission are the following:

a. To indict for the purpose of party prosecution party members who have violated the party statutes, party and state discipline and party morality;

b. To consider petitions and appeals of the decisions of obshtina, rayon and city committees and primary party organizations and respective control-auditing commissions on expulsion from the party or other party punishments;

c. To see to it the extent to which bookkeeping operations within the apparatus of the okrug committee are conducted promptly and accurately, the promptness and accuracy of the solution of questions raised in suggestions, letters, complaints and appeals received by the okrug committee;

d. To control the execution of the budget and the proper spending of monetary and material funds and the proper management of party property.

If necessary, in connection with its activities, the okrug control-auditing commission may submit suggestions to the okrug committee. The okrug control-auditing commission elects a buro, which includes a chairman and deputy chairmen. The okrug control-auditing commission holds sessions no less than once every 4 months.

Leading Bodies of Obshtina, Rayon and City Organizations

46. The obshtina, rayon or city conference (meeting), which must be convened by the respective obshtina, rayon or city committee once every 2 or 3 years and, on an extraordinary basis, by decision of the respective committee or by

request of one-third of the overall number of members of the respective party organization, is the highest body of the obshtina, rayon or city party organization. Between conferences, its work is guided by the respective committees.

The representation norms for the conference are determined by the respective party committee.

The obshtina, rayon or city conference (meeting) discusses the accountability reports submitted by the respective committee and control-auditing (auditing) commission and passes resolutions on them; if necessary, it considers other problems of party, economic and cultural life; elects obshtina, rayon or city committees and obshtina, rayon or city control-auditing (auditing) commissions and delegates to the conference of the superior party organization.

The accountability-election conferences of obshtina, rayon and city party organizations with more than 3,000 members elect control-auditing commissions. The tasks of these commissions are the same as those of the okrug control-auditing commissions. The obshtina, rayon and city control-auditing commissions elect buros, their chairmen and deputy chairmen.

47. The obshtina, rayon or city committee elects a buro, which includes committee secretaries. The buro and the secretaries must be approved by the okrug NCP Committee. The secretaries must have been members of the party for no less than 3 years.

In small obshtinas, rayons and cities, the obshtina, rayon or city committees do not elect a buro but only secretaries, who must have been party members no less than 3 years.

48. The plenum of the obshtina, rayon and city committee must convene no less than once every 3 months.

V

Primary Party Organizations

49. The primary party organizations are the foundations of the party. They are the leading political nucleus of the labor collective and the prototype of its future status.

Primary party organizations are created in labor collectives in the material and nonmaterial areas, in armed forces units and in residential neighborhoods, districts and others, if no less than three party members are present.

In some cases, by permission of the okrug committee, a primary party organization may be created within the framework of several labor collectives within an economic complex or any other association, located essentially on the territory of a single rayon or several rayons within a single city.

The primary party organizations must be approved by the city, rayon, obshtina and okrug party committees or their respective political departments.

50. The primary party organization, which includes the party members in the entire labor collective (combine, plant, enterprise, establishment, etc.) may set up structural organizations in shops, sections, sectors, departments, brigades, livestock farms and others, by decision of the respective party committee or political department.

Such component organizations have all the functions, rights and obligations of a primary party organization other than the right to accept or expel party members or solve general problems of the enterprise, establishment, etc., which are rights of a primary party organization.

The primary and component party organizations may set up party and party-Komsomol groups in shops, brigades, livestock farms, departments, services and sections, places of residence and other individual sections.

The structure and work of the party groups is based on BCP Central Committee instructions.

51. The party meeting is the highest body of the primary party organization. It must convene no less than once monthly. A general party meeting must be held no less than once every 3 months in primary party organizations with component organizations.

52. The primary and component party organizations elect a buro for a term of 2 to 3 years, as defined by the party meeting, to conduct the daily work of the primary or component organization.

The party buro elects a secretary and deputy secretaries and assigns obligations to the remaining members; drafts and convenes meetings of the primary party organization; organizes the implementation of decisions passed by the primary party organization and the superior party bodies.

An organization of no more than 10 members can elect only a secretary and a deputy secretary.

The secretary organizes the work of the buro of the primary organization, helps the party members in their activities, maintains relations with the party bodies and leaderships of economic, administrative and public bodies and organizations. He must have been a party member for no less than 1 year. Secretaries of primary and component party organizations must be approved by the respective party leadership (committee, buro).

The party group elects a steward, who must be approved by the organization's buro.

53. By permission of the okrug committee, labor collectives in the material and nonmaterial areas, and in villages, housing districts and others, which include a large number of party members, may set up organizations with party committees, which will rally and direct the activities of the primary party organizations within them. Such party committees are under the jurisdiction of the obshtina, rayon or city committees and are elected at general party meetings (conferences), with a membership stipulated by the meeting

(conference), for a term of 2 or 3 years. The secretaries of such committees must have been party members for no less than 3 years.

Party committees with no less than 200 party members may, by permission of the okrug committee, be given the right to approve the acceptance, expulsion or dropping out of party members. Party organization committees with more than 800 members may elect their own bureaus by permission of the okrug committee.

Village party committees may be set up by permission of the okrug committee in the largest obshtina villages.

The party organizations with committees also elect auditing commissions, the membership of which is set by the meeting (conference) for a 2 or 3-year term.

By permission of the Central Committee or the okrug BCP committees, councils of party secretaries may be set up in economic and other organizations, whose branches are located in different settlements and in large cities, which coordinate the work of the party organizations for some common tasks. Their functions and tasks are based on BCP Central Committee instructions.

54. The primary party organization is the direct executor of party policy among the masses and is the link between the working people and the leading party bodies.

The main tasks of the primary party organization are:

a. To concretize and enrich party policy under the conditions of the labor collective and the settlement, formulate specific ways of their economic, social and spiritual development and be the bearer of new and progressive developments;

b. To create political conditions for the self-management of the labor collective and its development as the manager of socialist property; to organize the working people in identifying reserves and formulating, adopting and executing plans; to be concerned with strengthening socialist discipline and the maximal utilization of labor objects and means and the full and economical utilization of manpower and the production of high quality goods;

c. To be concerned with the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the extensive utilization of leading Bulgarian and foreign experience;

d. To concern itself with the social development of the labor collective, the improvement of production and living conditions and the protection of the health of workers, employees and agricultural working people;

e. To show constant concern for upgrading the activeness of the party members and the enhancement of their vanguard role and responsibility for the implementation of tasks in the areas of sociopolitical, economic and cultural life; develop in the communists and in all working people the ability to manage governmental and social affairs;

f. To organize and head Marxist-Leninist training and upbringing of the party members in close connection with the tasks of building a developed socialist society; to engage in agitation and propaganda work among the masses for their education in the spirit of communist ideas; to study and mold public opinion and the political moods of the working people and to raise them in a spirit of intolerance of shortcomings and bourgeois ideology and morality; to manage the basic press;

g. To accept new party members;

h. To develop intraparty relations as a model of socialist social relations; to promote extensively criticism and self-criticism; to protect and encourage the initiative and creative thinking of the party members who assume sensible risks;

i. To struggle against corruption, the use of official positions for personal benefit, passiveness, indifference, bureaucratism and waste, parochialism, violations of socialist discipline, and deformations and deviations from the principles and standards of the socialist way of life;

j. To provide political leadership in the activities of primary units of mass and public organizations and movements and to enhance their role as an organic part of the political system and as social guarantors for the implementation of party policy;

k. To assist the city, rayon, obshtina or okrug party committee and political department in its entire activities, inform it on its own initiative of the problems which affect the party members and working people and of appearing trends of deviations from earmarked objectives and report to it on its work;

l. The party organization must steadily develop in the party members and the nonparty people high moral values and communist virtues, such as:

Socialist patriotism, loyalty to the party cause, love for the socialist homeland and the Soviet Union, fraternal solidarity with the peoples of the socialist community and of all countries fighting for freedom, national independence, peace and socialism;

Hatred of the enemies of communism, social progress and peaceful coexistence among nations, and readiness to defend the homeland and the socialist gains;

Readiness to engage in conscientious and highly efficient work for the good of society, intolerance of idleness and social parasitism;

Intolerance of violators of public interests and concern for the protection and increase of socialist property;

High feeling of collectivism, social duty and responsibility;

Comradely mutual aid and humane attitude among people;

Unity between words and actions and between rights and obligations;

Responsibility for the strength of the family, the adoption of a healthy way of life and the communist upbringing of the children;

Honesty and truthfulness, criticism, self-criticism and modesty in private and public life;

Intolerance of manifestations of careerism and philistine well-being and violations of the principles of socialist social justice;

Responsibility for environmental protection.

55. The primary party organizations in labor collectives of industrial, construction, transportation, trade, agricultural and service enterprises, labor-production cooperatives, economic trusts, scientific institutes, training, cultural-educational and health establishments, design and engineering-application organizations, technological centers and institutes have the right to control the activities of administrative and economic managements.

The Central Committee may grant the right of control to other primary party organizations as well.

The party organizations in ministries and other central and local establishments and departments have the right to control the work of the apparatus in implementing the resolutions of party and state bodies, the observance of socialist legality, the enhancement of responsibility in strict observance of party and state discipline, and cadre training, skills and upbringing. They must actively assist the steady improvement in the work of the apparatus; they must carefully and attentively serve the population; they must develop in officials a feeling of high responsibility to the people, practicality and efficiency; they must struggle against bureaucratism and paper shuffling; they must promptly report to the heads of establishments and to the respective party bodies, including the BCP Central Committee, shortcomings in the work of establishments or individual officials and violations of party and state discipline.

The right of control is governed by BCP Central Committee instructions.

VI

The Party and the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union

56. The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is a mass autonomous sociopolitical organization of the Bulgarian youth and the party's first assistant and reserve in its work for the communist upbringing and comprehensive development of the young generation and its full and highly efficient social realization and active participation in building a developed socialist society based on the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution.

The DKMS works under the guidance of the BCP. The Komsomol organizations actively assist in the implementation of the party's program and policies in all areas of socialist building.

The DKMS organizations have the right to promote extensive initiatives for discussion and submission to the corresponding party bodies and organizations all problems pertaining to their activities and improvements in the work of enterprises, economic organizations, establishments, schools and cultural and scientific institutions.

The party bodies and organizations must show systematic concern for the development of activities and initiatives of Komsomol bodies, organizations and societies, the strengthening of discipline and responsibility in youth collections, the dissemination of positive experience and the exercise of the Komsomol's right of social control over state and economic bodies and public bodies on the implementation of their obligations to the young generation.

The party creates conditions for the further strengthening of the position of the Komsomol within the social management system and upgrading its role as the direct spokesman for and defender of the interests of Bulgarian youth and as the political organizer and chief social guarantor for the efficient self-actualization of the young generation.

The party bodies and primary party organizations rely on the Komsomol organizations and societies in their activities related to the communist upbringing of the young people, the shaping of their Marxist-Leninist outlook and socialist consciousness, and a class-party approach to social phenomena and their development as ardent patriots and internationalists, daring defenders of the homeland and the gains of socialism and as ideologically firm and politically vigilant people; for acquiring an education, professional training and technological thinking and socialist experience consistent with the socialist way of life and their involvement with aesthetic values and their enrichment; for strengthening the health and physical activeness and decisively enhancing the role and responsibility of the family in the education of the children.

The party bodies and organizations direct and control the state and economic organizations and institutions in developing comprehensive conditions for the training and realization of young people.

58. DKMS members accepted in the BCP stop being Komsomol members as of the day of joining the party, unless they are members of elective Komsomol bodies.

VII

Party Organizations in the Country's Armed Forces

59. The leadership of the party organizations in the armed forces is provided by the Party's Central Committee Through the Main Political Directorate of the People's Army, which has the rights of a BCP Central Committee department, the Political Directorate of Construction Troops, and the political departments of the Border and Internal Troops and the troops of the Ministry of Transport.

The chiefs of political directorates (departments) of the branches of the armed forces, large units, formations and troop units of equal status, must have mandatorily been party member for 5 years.

60. The party organizations in the armed forces are guided in their activities by the party program and statutes and the decisions of congresses and the BCP Central Committee, and work on the basis of instructions issued by the Central Committee.

They consistently promote the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the armed forces, rally the personnel around the party and mobilize them to carry out assignments related to combat and political training, mastery of equipment and weapons, applying scientific and technical achievements in military affairs and maintaining the units in a state of high combat readiness. They are concerned with strengthening the moral-political state of the personnel, military discipline, one-man command, the patriotic and international upbringing of troops and commanders and shape in them loyalty to the homeland and the people, vigilance, courage, daring, dedication and heroism and friendship with the Soviet army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact members.

61. The party organizations and political bodies in the armed forces actively contribute to strengthening unity and friendship with the people. They maintain close ties with the local party, administrative and public bodies and organizations; they systematically inform the party bodies of the political work carried out in the units. The party committee secretaries and organizations in the armed forces, the commanders and chiefs of the political bodies participate in the work of the local party and state bodies and may be elected as their members.

The local party committees inform the units on the socioeconomic development of the respective okrug or settlement system and help them to upgrade their mobilization-combat readiness.

VIII

Party Groups Outside Party Organizations

62. As determined by the respective party bodies, party groups may be set up at sessions and executive committees of people's councils, congresses, conferences and other fora of mass and public organizations and movements, their elective bodies and state-public bodies with no less than three party members. Such groups may be set up, if necessary, also in the primary organizations of the Fatherland Front.

The task of these groups is comprehensively to strengthen the party's influence and promote its policies among nonparty people, to strengthen party and state discipline, to struggle against bureaucratism, and to control the implementation of party and governmental directives. The party group elects a secretary to handle current affairs.

63. Party groups in state, sociopolitical and mass organizations and movements obey the corresponding party organs--central, okrug, obshtina, rayon and city BCP Committee, and are guided by their resolutions.

IX

Party Monetary Funds

64. The monetary funds for the party and its organizations are collected from party membership dues, income earned by party enterprises and others.

65. The monthly membership dues of the party members are based on BCP Central Committee instructions.

66. A new party member pays an entrance fee amounting to 1 percent of his monthly income.

The lowest entrance fee is 1 leva.

5003

CS0:2200/139

CHANGES IN CPCZ STATUTES ANALYZED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 6, 1986 pp 77-87

[Article by Frantisek Klima, head of the Section for Party Structure and Statutes, CPCZ Central Committee Political Organizational Department, Prague: "The Basic Party Statute"]

[Excerpt] What are the main changes in the party statutes? What is their substance, what are the reasons for these changes? In the first place, it was necessary to adjust a number of phrases in the introductory program portion of the statutes which originated in their essence 24 years ago.

Primarily, the position and mission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the current era of social development was made more precise. The statutes encompassed the historically confirmed experience that the CPCZ is a proven fighting avant garde of the working class and of the remaining workers. The statutes emphasize that the Communist Party is a party of the working class because of its essence and ideology which expresses the most proprietary interests of this class and of the entire people in its policies; that it is a leading and direction-setting force of society and of the state. This formulation clearly expresses the class character of the party and its relationship with the other parties and strata of our population. The theoretical and practical findings, the experiences of our party, of the CPSU, and of the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries have shown the need to have the statutes contain the thought that the growth of the leading role of the party is a legal process, that the party can fulfill this task in a responsible manner only if it relies on the creative activity of Communists and is closely united with the workers.

The main task of the party in the current era was made more precise--implementation of the program for creating a developed socialist society and further progress toward communism, efforts in support of the planned and universal perfection of socialism, efforts to bring about full and efficient utilization of its opportunities and advantages in accelerating social and economic development, care in deepening and fortifying socialist societal relationships, the comprehensive development of production forces and production relationships and all other aspects of social life with the goal of satisfying the constantly growing material and spiritual needs of people. The expression of ways of achieving these goals was also rendered more precise in the directive

which states that the party concentrates the strength of people toward the dynamic development of the national economy through its intensification, through accelerating scientific-technical progress and through international socialist economic integration, that the party strives for further development of socialist democracy, a constantly broader participation on the part of citizens in administration, management, and control of public affairs and the economy, for the development of their creative forces, activities, and initiatives. The party's efforts to increase the tasks and development of the political system, to fortify the community of nations and nationalities in our country in line with the principles of socialist internationalism and the federated arrangement of our state, to constantly fortifying social, political, and ideological unity among the people, was also stressed. Together with care with respect to the growth of education and enlightenment in the spirit of communist ideals, emphasis was placed on the care exercised by the party for universal harmonious development of the personality, of the spiritual and cultural life of society, for the systematic overcoming of substantial differences between physical and mental work and additional rapprochement between the cities and the countryside.

The principles did not need to be amended with respect to the portion of the introduction which deals with fundamental questions of party expansion and activity, with strengthening its ideological, organizational, and action unity, with maintaining Leninist standards of party life, with purging those people who do not belong in the party, the portion which expresses the commonality of interests between our party and international communist and revolutionary worker movements and the relationships between our party and the CPSU--the proven and recognized avant-garde of the world communist movement. Current developments in the world made it necessary to render the tasks of the party more precisely with respect to their connection with the fight for peace and to stress that the party actively participates in joint measures for defense and security involving the countries of the socialist community.

These changes brought the introductory program portion of the statutes into agreement with the requirements to implement the leading role of the party under contemporary conditions, including findings of the theory of the party and of society.

The period of accelerated creation of developed socialist society, which we are now entering, poses qualitatively new demands upon the party, upon its leading role, and, thus, expressly increases the requirements for party membership, for the avant-garde mission of Communists, for their exemplary efforts, their self-sacrifice, and initiative in implementing the policies of the party. Consequently, the portion listing the obligations of party members states that every Communist must be an active, ideologically firm, and conscious party fighter who approaches the fulfillment of the needs of all of society with a high degree of responsibility. It is stressed that a party member must stand out and conduct himself everywhere as a Communist--both at the workplace as well as in his place of abode--must actively participate in the activities of his basic organization, must see to it that Leninist principles, standards, and work styles in the activities of the party are applied. The coresponsibility of Communists for the results of work in their basic

organizations is restated and the principle of party responsibility for the Communist and the principle of the responsibility of the Communist for the party is thus expressed.

The requirement to increase the pace and output of the national economy gives rise to the duty on the part of Communists to not only serve as an example at work, to multiply and guard socialist property, but to also constantly see to the intensification of production, increasing productivity of labor, seeing to its economy and quality, to be a pioneer of everything that is progressive, to apply the most recent scientific findings, to improve his qualifications, and to enforce the socialist principle of remuneration according to the work done.

The new provision that the principle involving the commitment and registration of Communists in the organization of their place of abode is decreed by the Central Committee of the CPCZ provides the opportunity to more precisely outline the tasks of Communists in their places of abode which it is impossible to list in more detail in the statutes in view of their character as a fundamental law. In considering this question it is necessary to differentiate between registration, which involves all members and candidate members and is intended to provide an overview of their dislocation and political commitment in places where they live and their engagement in this activity which must essentially be purposeful, rational, and differentiated with the goal of assuring the realization of the policies of the party in these same places, the action capability of committees and party organizations which, in view of the high average age of the membership base of these organizations is essentially limited. The fact that Communists in basic organizations at their workplaces, where the decisive struggle for fulfilling economic goals and the social policies of the party, the struggle for accelerating the tempo of societal development is being fought, cannot be overlooked.

The need to conduct a more effective struggle against the violation of socialist legality, of morale, and of other antisocial manifestations, the fight against self-satisfaction and little challenge at work, the fight against alibis and bureaucratism led to the expression of these requirements in the duties of members and candidate members of the party.

The 17th Congress of the CPCZ stressed the duty to care for the revolutionary, pure profile of the party and for the good reputation of the communist member. It stressed the need to proceed in a principled manner against the violation of statutes, violations of socialist morals, legality and discipline, the drawing of strict conclusions including expulsion from the party of those who are guilty of such activities. In harmony with this, provisions were incorporated in the statutes authorizing the basic organization to handle the cases of Communists who, entrusted by the party hold office in state, economic, and social organizations and have violated the statutes and socialist legality with the knowledge of the responsible party organ as well as provisions calling on higher organs to inform the responsible basic organizations in the event the higher organ should handle these violations itself. This emphasizes the responsibility of officials and managers for the fulfillment of membership obligations in their basic organizations, the inseparability of the entrusted functions from adherence to party statutes, and the responsibility for violations before the collective in which they work.

In the interest of strengthening the educational aspect of meting out party punishment and in view of the experiences of the CPSU, the statutes incorporate a provision according to which party organs or organizations will examine how a member is rectifying the mistakes he made 1-2 years after party punishment was meted out. If it is found that the mistakes have been rectified, a membership meeting or a party organ will decide to rescind the punishment. This provision replaced one dealing with opportunities for Communists or committees of basic organizations to request that punishment be expunged, but which was only rarely utilized in practice.

A summary expression stresses the unified principle for deciding with regard to membership in the party according to which the validity of directives regarding acceptance of candidate members and party members, their expulsion, the cancellation of their membership, and the striking out of their names from the ranks of candidate members must be voted on by at least two-thirds of the members present at a meeting and must be confirmed by the appropriate higher party organ.

The entire history of the party activity, particularly its experiences during the crisis years and during the establishment of socialism in recent times clearly indicate that the prerequisite for the successful fulfillment of party tasks as a leading force in society is the systematic application of Leninist principles, norms, and styles of work in the activities of its organs and organizations.

The avant-garde task of the party in society is contingent upon the strengthening of the ideological, organizational, political, and action unity of the party, upon rich intraparty life, upon the consistent adherence to the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. This is the source of the party's life energy. It connects broad democracy, the free exchange of views with responsibility and conscious discipline. The statutes emphasized its characteristics as a leading principle not only with respect to organizational development but throughout the activities of the party. The standards of democratic centralism, among which no changes were made in the provisions for election of leading party organs from below upward, the regular rendering of accountability with respect to activities to higher and lower organs, the subordination of the minority to the decisions of the majority, the unconditional binding nature of resolutions passed by higher organs for lower organs, underwent an adjustment in the formulation regarding the validity of resolutions adopted in the presence of more than half of the members or delegates (the old formulation required at least one-half of the members to be present) and augmented the provision requiring the application of collectivity and personal responsibility on the part of each Communist for fulfilling party resolutions in the activities of all organs and organizations. In view of the tasks in the ensuing era, the application of this principle has great practical significance, both as a prevention against the adoption of halfhearted formal resolutions expressing the opinion of only a few individuals and with respect to increasing the share of Communists in creating the policies of the party and their responsibility for fulfilling party resolutions.

Collectivity in the activities of party organs is also expanded by the fact that the right is given to all party organizations to elect commissions from the ranks of their members and candidate members, as well as from the ranks of their activists to assist them in their own work--a right which, thus far, was given only to okres and higher party organs.

An important role in party life is played by the full application of intraparty democracy. Where party meetings and sessions lack room for a free and substantive discussion of questions of party policy, where broad intraparty democracy is not applied, the prerequisites for the growth of creative activity among Communists and for the initiative on the part of party organizations, for the full development of criticism and self-criticism, as well as for the permanent application of party responsibility and discipline are not created. Consequently, it was necessary to underscore this task of intraparty democracy in the statutes.

The effort to improve the quality of activity on the part of party organs and organizations found its expression in an independent paragraph which assigns them the duty to apply Leninist principles and methods of management, to enforce the Leninist style not only in party work but in all sectors of public and economic administration, to assure the unity of ideological, organizational, and economic activities, and to see to the strengthening of state and work discipline. The application of the Leninist style of work also refers to all extraparty organs and organizations. It is aimed at increasing the openness of negotiations which encompass the truthful evaluation of a situation, it is aimed at not concealing mistakes and shortcomings, it is aimed at a broad informativeness. It is aimed at the material nature of negotiations, at the creative approach toward work, at the responsible solution of problems, but, at the same time, against manifestations of irresponsibility, formalism, a paper style of work, and against an insensitive approach to problems and to the needs of people.

The tasks and positions of the party apparatus are newly formulated in the statutes. It is not for naught that the enemies of the party, as was particularly shown in the crisis years, initiated their attacks against the party by attacking the party apparatus in an effort to destroy it, to deprive the party of experienced professional workers. Consequently, it is appropriate to include this paragraph into the party statutes and to formulate the position of the party apparatus as a helper of party organs in their activities, organizing and checking on the fulfillment of resolutions and being of assistance to party organizations. The provision stating that the party apparatus is created on the basis of principles laid down by the Central Committee and works according to directives of the appropriate party organs to whom it is responsible for its activities, precisely outlines its place in the party.

The statutes assert the demand of kraj and city committees of the party in Prague and Bratislava that the minimum number of their meetings be reduced from six to four per year. This adjustment provides them with the opportunity to better concentrate on key questions involved in assuring the political line of the party and party resolutions, gives them the opportunity to increase the effectiveness of their political-organizational, ideological educational work,

and assistance to lower party organs and organizations. It also provides more time for the realization and control of fulfillment pertaining to party resolutions. It was not possible to acquiesce to similar demands by okres committees. Existing provisions calling for them to meet at least six times per year remain valid. This is based on their position. It is based on the fact that they directly manage basic organizations, municipal, local, and enterprise and plant committees, that they handle important specific questions of development of interest to the okres, the solution of which cannot be left to the responsibility of presidia or boards but must be handled and decided upon by meetings of the okres committee. Furthermore, they handle a large number of operational questions. All of this requires more frequent gatherings which must, however, be rationalized, which must see the more frequent provision of reports, accountability reports on the part of leading officials with respect to the activities entrusted to them. Workers of the apparatus need not work up extensive written documentation with respect to everything; and meetings need not always last all day.

In view of experiences gained, the statutes expand the responsibility of kraj committee secretariats which, apart from managing and controlling the activities of sections and workers of kraj committees, are assigned the right to handle day-to-day operational tasks. However, in no event is this intended to lead to the secretariats usurping the responsibility of presidia which involves managing the work between meetings of kraj committees and organizing the controlling fulfillment of resolutions.

Municipal, local, and all-enterprise and plant committees play an important role of helpers for okres committees in managing basic organizations. In addition to these organizations, building site committees, school committees, and committees within operational sections of the Czechoslovak State Railroads exist on the basis of directives of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and operate successfully. Consequently, the statutes encompass a provision stating that, according to directives of the Central Committee, additional committees at the city, local, all-enterprise and plant level can be formed. Together with this provision the principal duties of all-enterprise and plant committees in implementing economic party policy in conjunction with tasks connected with intensification of the national economy, the application of scientific-technical progress, and all-round economizing are rendered more precise.

The findings of our party and of the fraternal parties confirm that the task of basic organizations--of this basic link in the party, which directly connects the party with the working masses and in which the policies of the party are essentially realized--is systematically growing. As the 17th congress stressed, basic organizations represent a broad basis for the functioning of the party in all areas of societal life. Party organs must rely on them in all of their activities, must see to it that their independence in solving tasks and problems is increased, must avoid burdening them with a multitude of frequently unnecessary instructions, and must stimulate them toward lively work among the people. The party statutes were adjusted accordingly.

The strengthening of the leading role of the party demands that the level and effectivity of control in all political and management activity must be

increased, that shortcomings, irresponsibility and failure to fulfill one's duty not be tolerated, since they frequently cause considerable economic, political, and moral damage. One of the means of combating these ills and one of the means for the consistent assurance of party policies is the right of inspection. Consequently, to strengthen the task of basic organizations, particularly with respect to the application of the economic policies of the party, in enforcing scientific-technical progress in practice, and in assuring the tasks involved in the area of education and enlightenment of the young generation, in fortifying the ideological maturity and moral characteristics of the people, in satisfying their needs, the right of inspection was expanded to include additional party organizations in the area of agriculture, in all scientific research institutes, in the housing economy, in community services, in schools, cultural, enlightenment, and health institutions. All of these organizations are given the right to inspect how enterprise management, the management of plants or institutions is implementing tasks of party policy and of the state, how they are assuring the solution of substantial expansion of enterprises, plants, and institutions in conjunction with all-societal interests without supplanting its activities. The right to independently examine and check the status of task fulfillment, to utilize the findings of workers, trade unionists, youth organizations, and inspection organs toward this purpose, but also to unify the efforts of the worker collectives and to see to it that enterprises, plants, or institutions fulfill all their obligations vis-a-vis society. Together with this, they have the duty to support the efforts of managers, to increase their responsibilities in assuring the implementation of party policies in the areas for which they are responsible. The party statutes succinctly express all fundamentals connected with the application of the right to inspect. They express it with adequate clarity so as to enable basic organizations to apply this right without having to wait for the issuance of directives.

Practical activity since the 14th congress has shown the need for membership meetings of basic organizations to each year evaluate the work that has been done and to clarify tasks and ways of assuring it during the next year. Meetings at the beginning of the year, or evaluative or accountability meetings essentially fulfill the function of annual membership meetings, with the exception of electing new committees, by their content and intentions. This problem is solved in the statutes by having the basic organizations hold annual membership meetings each year and by calling for election of committees for every 2-3 years, as has been the case hitherto.

Objections on the part of some comrades were occasioned by the provision that membership meetings are generally held every month and at least 10 times per year. They expressed fears that this violates the regular rhythm of meetings and makes it possible for organizations to hold membership meetings only 10 times a year. This provision does not pursue the goal of introducing the holding of 10 meetings per year. The rule continues to be a meeting each month, but one cannot circumvent the fact that, for example, during the period of school holidays, vacations, and in some other cases--in other words, as exceptions--a situation arises where membership meetings can only be organized with difficulty in a manner which would not be purely formalistic. The provision calling for 10 meetings only provides for the minimum number. In considering

this question, the fact that membership meetings, even though they are the highest organ of basic organizations, are not the goal and sense of their entire activities must be taken into account. Membership meetings must rightfully judge and decide all basic questions involved in the realization of party policy at the place where the basic organization functions. Its resolutions and conclusions are the stepping stone toward the realization of party policies--something which is occasionally overlooked in the basic organizations.

The final provision intended to strengthen the tasks of basic organizations deals with the internal structure of basic organizations having a larger number of members. The role of partial organizations, which are intended to organize and check on the fulfillment of membership meeting resolutions of basic organizations and which are charged with initiatives and actively solving tasks based on local conditions and requirements, are increased. Okres committees can grant them certain rights of basic organizations. The purpose is to avoid an ineffective fragmentation of large basic organizations, to avoid the scattering of party forces and the creation of all-enterprise or local committees where this is not absolutely necessary.

The magnitude and complexity of the new tasks raises the demands for correct application of the leading role of the party in the entire political system, in all areas of societal life, as an important factor in mobilizing people, in fortifying their confidence in the policies of the party. This requires that the political leadership of the party not be mixed up with specific state and economic management. Together with the simultaneous strengthening of the leading role of the party this requires increased responsibility for and creation of room for the activities of extraparty organs and organizations, for the development of socialist democracy. That is why the statutes contain a formulation pertaining to the relationship between the party and state and social organizations in a separate chapter. It unequivocally states that the party realizes the political leadership of state and social organizations and organs, gives direction to and coordinates their activities through Communists who work in them. It stresses the high responsibility of these people and emphasizes the demands placed on the level of their work. At the same time, it strives to see to it that these organizations consistently fulfill their tasks stemming from the constitution and the laws of Czechoslovakia, that they fulfill their rights and obligations which are set by the statutes of the social organizations, and that they assist in the broad involvement of the working people in their activities.

At congresses and in resolutions of its organs, the party has repeatedly stressed the responsibility for the education of the young generation. That is why, in addition to existing provisions which state that party organs and organizations, in working with the young generation, rely on the Union of Socialist Youth, their care for the development of that organization's activity and the fulfillment of its goal as a representative of the young generation and soon-to-be cofighter of the party is emphasized. This gives expression to the relationship between the party and the Union of Socialist Youth and its mission in working among young people, as well as the great responsibility of the entire party with respect to the education of the young generation.

This is the essence of the main changes to the basic party law which make it into a document reflecting current conditions in the struggle of the party for fulfillment of the goals outlined by the 17th congress. The changes provide a firm foundation for the organizational unity of the party and, thus, create the prerequisites for it to be able to honorably fulfill its leading role in society during a time when all countries of the socialist community, inspired by the example of Soviet Communists, are concentrating their forces on the substantial acceleration of economic and social development, on universally perfecting socialism, on utilizing its advantages in conjunction with the ongoing scientific-technical revolution, which will prove the superiority of socialism over capitalism even on the economic front.

In order for the statutes to play their part in the struggle of the party for the fulfillment of these goals, Communists must know them well, must become familiar with the principles and standards embodied in them, must be guided by them in their activities, and must use them in the development of internal party life and general party activity, in the work of all its organs and organizations.

5911

CSO: 2400/324

PARTY REVIEWS MEMBERSHIP, LOOKS TO FUTURE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 May 86 p 1

[Editorial: "With Rights Come Responsibilities"]

[Excerpts] The CPCZ has 1,674,918 members and candidate members. This means that one in every seven citizens over 18 years of age is in the party. The Political Report of the CPCZ Central Committee at the 17th CPCZ Congress noted in this regard that the Party ranks have grown to the advantage of the working class. Of the accepted candidate members, 61.1 percent are blue collar workers. Two-thirds of all communists come from blue collar origins. And what is especially gratifying is that the party is getting younger. One third of the party membership is under 35. Moreover, almost 52 percent of the current members and candidate members entered the CPCZ after 1970.

"Despite the achieved results," the CPCZ Report emphasized, "certain shortcomings persist." The approach to raising the quality of the party membership has not always been comprehensive. Efforts have frequently been confined to recruiting members, with little or no account taken of the need to improve the influence of the party at critical workplaces and in critical production professions, above all in the preproduction stages in the area of R&D, in the realm of training and education, in commerce, health care and other fields. Selection criteria have not always been rigorous and purposeful, nor has attention always been paid to the thorough preparation of workers for acceptance as candidate members and full CPCZ membership. Weaknesses remain in assigning communists according to party requirements and we have been too lax in tolerating violations of regulations.

These shortcomings in the further upgrading of the quality of the membership base have been admitted, in the spirit of self-criticism, by communists during the discussions of okres and kraj party conferences. Now it is a matter of seeing to it that these statements do not remain only words, and that in upcoming months and years we keep them in mind and act upon them when choosing candidates and members for the CPCZ. The determining conditions for acceptance into the ranks of the communist party should be the political and work quality of people. We should under no circumstances permit people entry into the party for opportunistic reasons, especially people who expect privileges from party membership.

After the 17th CPCZ Congress, party organizations began to direct their attention to internal problems of party life, in addition to economic issues. For instance, the East Slovak kraj organization had at the time of this conference 119,473 members and candidate members. This means that every sixth economically active citizen of the kraj was also in the party. This number included every sixth blue collar worker and every eighth cooperative farmer. Technicians are currently represented very heavily, with one in three being a communist. One in five of the remaining intelligentsia is also a member or candidate. In spite of this, at the kraj conference of the CPS in Kosice it was stated, among other things, that in many enterprises the senior managers and, in some cases, the entire party organization does not understand, or does not want to understand that our society has exhausted possibilities for extensive economic development and that the only path to economic growth is through intensification. These people act as though the demanding requirements of economic development relate only to others and not to them.

...During the Eighth 5-Year Plan it is not the number, but the quality of the membership base of our party that will be decisive in determining the extent to which it will be a leader in society. In the selection and assignment of members and candidates we must attach the greatest importance to such considerations as the sense of the person concerned for the new and progressive, their willingness to take upon themselves responsibility, to educate themselves systematically and to implement party policy, party and state discipline. To the extent that new candidates do not have these attributes their entry into the ranks of the party will not be a contribution for the party, its authority, or to overall task fulfillment. It is unfortunate that there are even cases where candidates or members damage the good name of the party.

...The basic responsibilities spelled out in party regulations require every member to be an example at the workplace, to enhance and defend socialist property, to strive for the development of the forces of production, production relationships and the match between them, to concern himself constantly with the intensification of production, increasing labor productivity, resource management, efficiency and quality. A party member should seek out all that is progressive, strive to apply the newest R&D findings in the national economy, improve his qualifications and stand for the implementation of the socialist principle of compensation according to merit.

No matter to which party organization we pose the question of who fulfills the above responsibilities, the answer comes back that some people, mainly technicians, assert their faith in production intensification in words, but that their actual performance does not always bear out the words. A study of the reasons for this negative phenomenon begins after the acceptance of candidates to the party. This is justified by the fact that an employee, after all, is entrusted with a higher economic function and must therefore make greater efforts. Moreover the factory organization of the CPS does not always consider sufficiently to what extent tasks stemming from party regulations should fulfill the above requirements.

Our party is currently very strong in numbers. It has recently matured organizationally and ideologically, and its capability for action has improved. We cannot be satisfied with this state of affairs but, in the interest of a proper distribution of the forces of the party, it is necessary to use the selection process to locate candidates from the ranks of blue collar workers, technicians and intelligentsia to strengthen the party further, in a purposeful way, at critical workplaces and production-related professions, in the R&D field, in the areas of training and education, in commerce, health care and in other sectors.

9276/9435

CSO: 2400/292

REGIME'S ANTIRELIGIOUS DRIVE INTENSIFIES

Paris LE MONDE in French 8 Jul 86 p 6

[Article by Valtraud Baryli]

[Text] Vienna— About 100,000 Czechoslovakian Catholics marched on Sunday 6 June in the annual pilgrimage at Levoca, in eastern Slovakia. This astonishing gathering of people, perpetuating a 200-year religious tradition, was an unmistakable response on the part of the faithful to the repression aimed at the Catholic Church that had continued without interruption in Czechoslovakia since 1950, the year when relations between the Vatican and the communist regime in Prague occurred.

The massive police presence deployed for the occasion at Levoca and on its outskirts, plus the heavy sprinkling of secret police agents among the crowd, was indicative of the importance the authorities attach to this religious demonstration. The participants, only a small contingent of whom could find standing-room in the church of Levocska-Hora, watched and probably photographed as well from a police aircraft that flew over the crowd at low altitude, are at risk of reprisals.

The increasingly difficult situation of Catholics in Czechoslovakia is reflected in an appeal from Frantisek Cardinal Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, to Austrian Catholics thanks to the good offices of a delegation of members of Parliament visiting Prague in mid-May. In that appeal the Cardinal, who celebrated his 87th birthday on 30 June last, reported that, among other problems, 70 percent of Catholic priests are forbidden to perform their sacerdotal duties or have been arrested.

Of Czechoslovakia's 4,336 parishes, only 1,131 have their own priest to lead them. Of the 15 seminaries that once flourished in Czechoslovakia only two, the one at Litomerice and the one in Bratislava, are still permitted to train priests, although they are subject to incessant meddling by the communist authorities in the process of selecting candidates for the priesthood. Of the 13 Czechoslovakian dioceses, 10 sees are vacant because the regime refuses to approve the Vatican's nominations, and vice-versa.

Following the dissolution of religious orders in 1950, the authorities lost little time in forbidding all lay religious organizations, including the charitable orders, to perform their duties. The last of the nuns caring for retarded children at a hospital in Mana, in Novie-Zamky departement in southern Slovakia, were dismissed as of 1 June on orders from the Slovakian minister for religion.

Meanwhile, the independent Catholic press was gradually replaced by magazines controlled by the government, but which, like the Czech church newspaper KATOLICKE NOVINY, no longer bear Cardinal Tomashek's imprimatur. The scarcity of religious literature, including missals, has led to countless arrests and prison terms meted out to Catholics on charges of "illicit distribution of religious writings."

The latest trial on these grounds was that of six Catholics, one of them a priest, before a tribunal in Prague last May. The charges placed particular emphasis on "the expanding activism on the part of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia," including those of clandestine orders and secretly ordained priests. In mid-June, one Catholic activist, Marie Foltinova, was sentenced by a Bratislava court to 10 months in prison for having done a Czech translation of a book by Slovak Jesuit Sebastian Labo, which was published in RFA.

Czech authorities have been trying for years, through searches and arrests, to crush the clandestine religious literature network. The police have found and destroyed a great many underground printshops, but others are still hanging on.

The government's mounting uneasiness reflects, among other phenomena, the increasing interest of the ounger generations in religious matters. Last May, Catholic Youth of Slovakia sent a letter to the head of state, Gustav Husak, asking him to order a halt to repression of the Church, relieve the situation of the faithful, and release priests and Catholic laymen arrested for their religious convictions.

After 30 years of atheistic propaganda and attempts to stamp out the faith, the record of the Czechoslovakian communist regime is not what one might call brilliant: In 1984, 53 percent of weddings in Slovakia and 15.8 percent in Bohemia and Moravia were solemnized in church; 71.6 percent of newborn infants in Slovakia and 31.2 percent of those in Bohemia and Moravia were baptized; 80.5 percent of the dead were buried with the full rites of the Church in Slovakia, as were 50.6 percent in Bohemia and Moravia. These figures were released by former Minister for Religion Karel Hruza in a speech before the construction workers' union and reported publicly last April in the underground Catholic magazine CHURCH NEWS.

SHORTCOMINGS IN HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION CRITICIZED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 2 Apr 86 p 2

[Article by Zdenek Zuntych: "So That the Seeds Should Sprout"]

[Excerpts] The education system, individual schools, as well as teachers have repeatedly been substantially criticized--criticism which has to do with the inadequate quality of instruction and the still more unsatisfactory level of their ideological political education, world view education, moral and work education. All of the main critical remarks on the work of schools are not concentrated today so much on the shortcomings in educating students, but rather on the fundamental problem, namely that the schools inadequately assure a qualitatively higher level of social maturity among youth and promote its relationship with respect to tasks of the present. It is largely a matter of molding a young person to not only be the carrier of a certain sum of knowledge and consciousness, but that he be primarily an active builder of our socialist society with deep-rooted habits centering on honest work and mastering scientific-technical progress, having ideological principles centered on the scientific world view, on socialist morality, and a high degree of work and conduct culture.

The public rightfully criticizes some schools for failing to share, in the appropriate measure, in eliminating negative phenomena which occur among young people. This is primarily a case of inadequately developed civic consciousness, political naivete, and unwillingness to work wherever society has a need. And it has been fully confirmed that the one-sided acquisition of knowledge, the neglecting of efforts and interests to educate a socialist-thinking and acting student and pupil, does not pay.

Where inconsistent work leads to is shown by some examples, be they from the Industrial Engineering Middle School in Ceske Budejovice or from the Industrial Middle School at Strakonice, where three students were prosecuted in court. That is how far the so-called good political situation in school, where the Strakonice Industrial School had evaluated the results of its instruction and education positively for a long time, led to. However, the unity between education and training was more the subject of conversation than was actually done in this regard. The solution could not be any other. The directors of both schools and their deputies were recalled and, at the same time, changes were made in the leadership of the party organizations at both schools.

However, there are many weak areas in other middle schools in ideological education. All these bad manifestations naturally occasion rightful criticism on the part of the public and attest to the fact that a certain number of teachers has not yet familiarized itself with a more demanding and efficient way of educational work. They rely on the fact that patriotism and proletarian internationalism will be acquired by students only by learning the text contained in textbooks and they forget a substantial fact which has been verified through the years. Namely, that these attributes can be cultivated through a long-term conscientious educational process.

Perhaps you will object and ask why blame only the school? And you would be right because not infrequently the family environment and the general decline in information regarding domestic and foreign events acts in a negative manner. Particularly in recent times, much paper has been filled with writings regarding the relationship between the school and the family. And, certainly, not without justification. But practice shows that, unfortunately, everything stops with theoretical considerations and the imaginary triangle formed by the student, the parents, and the teachers is far too frequently disrupted. And where this leads to is pitiful. And we do not have in mind only the Strakonice "case." The average results attained at some schools in Ceske Budejovice speak for themselves--at the gymnasium on Jirovcova Street the average success is 2.7, at the Industrial Construction School 2.32, at the Economics School "for a change" 2.42, at the Engineering Training Center 2.65, and things look even worse at the Construction Industry Training Center, where the average result is 2.81.

Let us not, therefore, be surprised at the open finding that in many families the awareness that the most valuable thing one can give one's children is not material things but a moral profile and exemplary character traits does not dominate. It is downright surprising to see the matter-of-factness with which some parents confuse the advantages afforded the new generation by our society with the privileges for their children, how they confuse care for children with servility. For many parents it is decisive to see how their child is learning, but no longer how its deportment is. Another warning factor is that only roughly 65 percent of the families are maintaining contact with the school and even then to a limited degree. That is why parents also frequently do not know how their child lives, what its views are, whether the child regularly attends classes or how the child joins in public activities. And that then leads to disappointments and even greater astonishment.

What to do? How to proceed? These are the most frequent questions which every person who is even a little bit concerned about education of the young generation must pose for themselves. In addition to more consistent and more demanding work on the part of the school, another opportunity is also important. To take the matter under consistent party control, to tenaciously and consistently demand that leading school organs objectively and actually critically evaluate the results. This means the setting of completely concrete demands in management activity for every party organization and school and the method of their control through party and state organs.

We are primarily interested in training and education of future members of the working class. Even here, however, numerous problems remain to be solved. This is clearly shown by the analysis of the relationship between students and their chosen profession, an analysis which was accomplished at five specialized middle school training centers in South Bohemia Kraj. Briefly stated--it reflects the superficial knowledge of the character of work in the appropriate area. Of the questioned 132 students who were seniors, 45 state that they entered the training center when they were unsuccessful in another area of study. Slight knowledge of the character pertaining to the subject in which they are studying is also attested to by the fact that only 53 percent of the students anticipate that they will be satisfied working in that profession in the future.

These are facts which stand in one rank with exemplary work performed in many schools. It is good to know of them because only in this way will we be able to successfully combat them. It means deeply analyzing the causes and weaknesses in socialist education.

5911

CSO: 2400/252

ACADEMIC OFFERS TIMETABLE FOR COMMUNISM'S ARRIVAL

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 12, 20 Jun 86 pp 6-7

[Article: "GDR Futurologist Predicts Transition to Communism"]

[Text] The "material and cultural level of life in the GDR is rising so far that by the end of our century and in the early years of the 21st century, socialism will probably be fully developed, and by the end of the first quarter of the 21st century, the essential features of communist society can take shape." This view was expressed by the futurologist Erich Hanke in a GDR school radio interview about his book, "Into the Next Century--What's in Store for Us?" The 75-year-old Hanke, who joined Erich Honecker in escaping Brandenburg prison at the end of the war, was a professor at the College for Economics in East Berlin until his retirement. With respect to the theses for the future he propounded, he now says: "My conclusion is that today's 10 to 20 year olds in the GDR will be able to live to see communism." Among the "facts" supporting this assumption, Hanke noted the doubling of family income from today's 1,250 marks per month within the next 24 years, and then a further doubling to 5,000 marks by the year 2026, "with the price situation remaining about the same." That means that the needs of people in socialist society are being "ever more completely" satisfied, and that the bases for their personal and creative development are being established.

Of course, the new society will not come about "spontaneously," but will require diligence, a sense of responsibility, "active opposition to slovenliness and such views as are sometimes found among youth people." In Hanke's words, the development of society can also be delayed if objective possibilities are "not properly" exploited because man's consciousness lags behind his potential.

/8309

CSO: 2300/459

IZVESTIYA INTERVIEW WITH SARLOS ON ELECTION SYSTEM, DEBATE

PM011009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 86, Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, by B. Rodionov in Budapest, date unspecified, under the heading "Compelling Mandate"--first graf is editorial introduction]

[Text] Multifaceted work is in progress in the fraternal socialist countries with the aim of further developing socialist democracy, enhancing the role of electoral organs at all levels, and improving election practice. Thus, in Hungary the first year in office of a National Assembly elected in accordance with the new electoral law is drawing to a close. What are the initial results? What has changed in deputies' activity? At the request of B. Rodionov, IZVESTIYA correspondent in Budapest, Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, talks about this.

[Sarlos] I would immediately like to stress that what we are talking about is a process of deepening socialist democracy, which began considerably earlier and covers every aspect of Hungarian social life. The spring 1985 the 13th MSZMP Congress served as a powerful spur to this process.

A new and important feature is the considerably closer ties between deputies and voters--I would even go so far as to say dependence on the voters. In all electoral districts the People's Patriotic Front offered voters up to two candidacies per seat and, in a number of cases, citizens also nominated a third--a countercandidacy. All candidates, communists and nonparty people, who were supported at preelection meetings and who approved the platform of the People's Patriotic Front were included on voting papers.

The deputy's mandate obliges him to demonstrate a state approach while at the same time actively representing the interests of his electoral district in standing commissions and at parliamentary sessions, regularly reporting back to voters, and keeping them up to date with events. Deputies at a local level receive a mass of invitations to meetings with labor collectives and with the residents of population centers and city districts, and they prepare carefully for these meetings. After the meeting has taken place, proposals and critical observations are conveyed to the appropriate bodies, watch is kept on what becomes of them, and any wrong reaction is frequently opposed.

Deputies, particularly those elected for the first time--and they comprise two-thirds of all deputies--are greatly helped by deputy groups set up in Budapest and all of the country's 19 regions.

[Rodionov] What are the ties between voters and those deputies voted for on the national electoral roll--party and state leaders, leaders of public organizations, prominent figures in Hungarian science and culture, that is, those deputies who have not just been voted for in one electoral district but throughout the country?

[Sarlos] I will speak from my own experience. When in regions on official matters, I never fail to make the time to meet representatives of the public and members of local deputy groups, and I take an interest in how things are going in the districts and what voters are dissatisfied with. As far as I know, my fellow parliamentarians elected from the national roll do the same.

[Rodionov] A critical attitude was clearly felt at the recent spring parliamentary session.

[Sarlos] You know, I have been in parliament since 1963 and am pleased to note that boring speeches and self-justifying accounts lacking in bite are obviously going out of fashion. Speeches at sessions, not to mention the exchanges of opinions in standing commissions, now contain greater polemic and criticism. It is often the case that, responding to the progress of a discussion, one deputy or another will ask to speak directly in the course of the session.

[Rodionov] What happens to critical observations and proposals made by deputies?

[Sarlos] They are discussed at a government session and every department is obliged to study the questions within its competence and to give a substantial response within a month. The mass information media also participate in this work. For example, after an external session Laszlo Somogyi, Minister of Construction and Urban Development, who gave a report at this session, answered deputies through the pages of the newspaper *MAGYAR HIRLAP*, and the questions were not easy: on the extreme expensiveness of apartments put up by construction organizations under the ministry's jurisdiction, on complaints about quality, on construction and the provision of amenities in rural areas, whose underestimation some deputies even see demonstrated in the very title "Ministry of Construction and Urban Development...."

[Rodionov] How do you regard the fact that opinions sometimes differ?

[Sarlos] This is a natural manifestation of socialist democracy. All of our sociopolitical aims are the same, but even between like-minded people differences are possible. It cannot be ruled out that even some members of government may remain in a minority. This is what happened at the spring session in the voting on one of the deputies' enquiries. National Assembly deputy and glass factory foreman Istvan Szalai was not satisfied by the answer of Bela Saikszai, chairman of the National Material and Price Office, regarding the

regulation of trade profit in the sale of certain imported and home-produced goods. The majority shared the deputy's opinion: the existing procedure places home-produced products in unequal conditions on the domestic market. In accordance with the regulations the issue under dispute has been submitted for discussion by the trade commission, which will report on the results at the next National Assembly session.

[Radionov] In conclusion, allow me to touch on another subject: What untapped potential do you see in the development of Soviet-Hungarian parliamentary ties?

[Sarlos] In addition to our traditional ties with the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, we would like to establish direct contacts at the level of a number of standing commissions. I feel that they would make their own contribution to resolving the tasks set by our party congresses.

/9716

CSO: 2500/380

CHURCH-STATE COMPROMISE, ROLE OF CARDINAL LEKAI EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

Lekai's Cooperation With Regime

[Article by Henri Tincq: "Historic Compromise Hungarian Style"]

[Text] Cardinal Laszlo Lekai was archbishop of Esztergom and had been the primate of Hungary for the last 10 years (see LE MONDE of 2 July). He was the successor of Cardinal Mindszenty, who had been a symbol of intransigence, but his policy was one of cooperation with the socialist regime of Janos Kadar. Social peace in exchange for our freedoms: that was the pact that the churches made with the Hungarian government, and it was a case unique in eastern Europe.

Budapest--Grass has grown over the barricades. Thirty years after the riots and the bloody repression of 1956--thousands dead and 200,000 exiled--Hungarians no longer dream of ideology but of a peaceful life. Thanks to Janos Kadar's economic reforms they have "reached the level" of a consumer society. "The Hungary of 1986 is the France of the 1950's," one observer said. "Automobiles, apartments, well-filled shopping carts, weekends at Lake Balaton and trips to the West are the new priorities."

But weeds are growing in the grass. The suicide rate--5,000 in 1984 in a population of 10.6 million--is the highest in Europe. One couple in three gets a divorce, and deaths outnumber births. Juvenile delinquency is spreading in the cities, and drugs are joining alcoholism--which is said to afflict half a million people--on the national shame list.

Rebuilding morality in Hungarian social life has become the basis for more extensive collaboration than ever between the communist state and the churches; it has no equivalent elsewhere in eastern Europe. Those who sing its praises extol it as a model and are delighted that the Roman secretariat for non-believers has chosen Budapest as the seat of an unprecedented colloquium scheduled for next October with Hungarian and Soviet Marxist academicians.¹

Cardinal Mindszenty's voluntary exile in the American embassy and in Vienna from 1956 until his death in 1975 was a symbol of yesteryear's confrontations between the state and the Catholic church (60 percent of the population); it is now an episode that belongs completely to the past in Hungarian national life. After a phase of more peaceful coexistence "we have now entered an era of creative cooperation," says Mr Sarkady-Nagy, vice-president of the State Office for Church Affairs.

Like economic dogmas, the old atheist demons have leaden wings. "We cannot imagine Hungary without the Danube and Tisza. Likewise," the communist minister adds, "we cannot imagine it without its churches and their members." The spokesman of the Catholic hierarchy, Msgr Jozsef Cserhaty, replied in a widely-read article published last April in the party's theoretical journal VILLAGOSAG ("Enlightenment"): "The fate of the country is in good hands," said the bishop of Pecs, "thanks to its leaders and the government's devoted service. Religious leaders are ever more ready to cooperate with people of Marxist ideology to create and broaden the national consensus."

The Alliance Against "Profiteers"

Cooperation or compromise? The present situation goes back to the double illusion of the postwar years. The communists' illusion was confidence that they would have quick success and eradicate the need for religion. Schools were nationalized and most religious orders were dissolved. Part of the clergy was brought to heel or put in prison. The churches' illusion was that they were convinced the new regime would be temporary and that they would soon regain their rights and property.

Everybody was wrong. Communist power and the churches consolidated their positions. Finally, to repeat a formula dear to the primate, Cardinal Laszlo Lokai, who was the primary shaper of the policy of cooperation, "what brings us together has become more important than what divides us."

The lure of consumer society partially emptied the churches, which have a 20-30 percent membership rate, and seriously eroded Marxist convictions. Young people are not being held by institutions and their slogans. "Before 1956 we were battling blue jeans. Now we are exporting them," says Jozsef Palvy, editor in chief of a large weekly newspaper. Monsignor Cserhaty also deplores the rise of a third force between believers and Marxists: "the indifferent, the cynical and the exploiters." He does not deny the importance of Hungarian economic reforms, especially access to land and livestock ownership by a new class of farmers, but he denounces "profiteers."

Despite its tradition of resistance, the Protestant church, with about 2 million members, had begun a dialogue with the state long before the Catholics. In the eastern part of the country, Debrecen is a kind of Calvinist Rome. It reigns over 400 congregations, or about one-third of the Protestant parishes in the country. Its large church is a centerpiece of Hungarian history: the Hungarian revolutionary parliament met there in 1848, as did the provisional government in December 1945.

The Protestant bishop of Debrecen, Mr Tiber Bartha, is a member of the present parliament.² As for the director of the college, theologian Elemer Kocsis, he says he is convinced that "for the Marxists, the most important thing today is not to deny God but to affirm and serve man." He maintains that he does not hesitate to bring up questions of justice and civil rights with his Marxist counterparts.

The Hungarian churches and state are thus linked together by the same objective--establishing new social morals--which in a way shows their own failures. Fighting alcoholism and delinquency, consolidating family life and the work ethic, giving young people an ideal: "On all these points," says a Hungarian journalist, "the party press is saying the same thing as the clergy."

The Cardinal's Small Steps

It is easy to understand why Hungarian leaders prefer to deal with organized, structured churches than with dissident denominations or sects, which are often held up as a threat. But the current issue in Hungary is whether the churches are becoming a tool of the state.

Social peace in exchange for the extension of our freedoms: that is the basis of the compromise--some call it a "deal"--that the religious leaders seem to have made with the regime and that Cardinal Lekai liked to sum up in the expression "policy of small steps."

Its results are far from negative. Zugliget is a residential neighborhood of Budapest. Its small, square apartment buildings stand amid scrub and lawns. The curate of Holy Family church has a parish of 9,000 people and an army of 32 lay catechists. All are men. They are doctors, engineers, teachers and researchers; they are not party members and know they will never hold leadership positions in society. They therefore commit themselves totally to responsibilities in the church.

But this is a recent development. For only the last 2 years have lay people been authorized by the state to assist or replace priests in children's religious instruction, and they may do so only on the condition that they be trained and serve unpaid. By the same agreement, catechism is no longer limited to churches and sacristies only. For the church, which is losing priests (2,600 as opposed to 4,000 ten years ago) and nuns, the laity is a chance for survival. However, the bishops say the state must give it more facilities.

There is something else at stake: the young people. Any Catholic or Protestant youth movement is still forbidden. The churches get around this problem by having choral groups, children's choir meetings, pilgrimages, and small communities where the clergy can reach young people. But the clergy is getting tired of this slight of hand; they say there is a contradiction in asking the churches to help fight the moral decline of young people and at the same time depriving them of the means of organizing them.

The limitation on religious orders remains the main subject of irritation. Only four are authorized--Franciscans, Benedictines, Piarists, and teaching nuns--to teach the courses in the eight Catholic high schools that are still open. The total number of members in these orders is also subject to a maximum limit.

The church is concerned about maintaining its staff and intends to throw off this shackle. It considers it a positive sign that a Jesuit was given permission to accompany Cardinal Lekai to Moscow a few years ago. Also, a retreat house recently opened in Leanyfalou, near Budapest, and has been turned over to three Jesuits.

A Divided Clergy

Obstacles still remain in the organization of pilgrimages and in the religious media's freedom of expression, and most of the clergy think they have a lot to gain from broadening the dialogue with the authorities. "In the seminary 10 years ago they taught as though we were to be the last priests in a declining church," says Father Jozsef Torok, a young professor at the theological academy. "Now we are responsible for millions of the faithful and have no other choice than to come to an understanding with the state. The church of the catacombs might be preferable, but to how many believers?"

Contending voices are heard expressing disagreement with the policy being followed and criticism of a clerical elite that is socially privileged by the state. "I wish relations between the church and state were clearer and more honest," says a priest in Budapest. "I would like to be sure that church officials are putting their churches' interests first."

"Basic communities" have grown up mainly around Piarist Gyorgy Bulanyi (see following article) and Lutherans; they are said to involve 1,000-2,000 people, and they are creating tensions. One of their objectives is the legalization of conscientious objection. About 150 young people are serving 18-26 months in prison for refusal to do military service. The ministry of Church Affairs says it is not proper to take advantage of church protection to violate state laws. "Anyway, there is no law in the church," says Mr. Sarkady-Nagy, "that allows anyone to refuse military service."

Budapest Between Rome and Warsaw

Is the attitude of the Hungarian church realistic or naive? The question is crucial for the Vatican's strategy in the Eastern countries. It may be remembered that the cardinal-primate limited himself to speaking of St Steven and composer Franz Liszt at the last special synod in Rome in order to avoid compromising the present balance in his country. The Polish episcopate is being pressured by forces opposing the regime and is considered "too nationalistic" in Hungary.

Which will win out: the Hungarian way--collaboration--or the Polish way--resistance? It is murmured in Budapest that Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican state secretary and father of the Eastern policy favoring rapprochement with the socialist countries, has had a hand in the condemnation of Father Bulanyi.

The fact remains that the present historic Hungarian compromise must prove it can outlive its two main promoters. Janos Kadar is 74, and Laszlo Lekai died recently. Is there another solution available in Hungary?

FOOTNOTES

1. This Christian-Marxist colloquium is scheduled to be held at the Academy of Sciences with, especially, Jozsef Lukacs, the best-known Marxist ideologist of the Hungarian regime; Cardinal Paul Poupard, president of the Roman secretariat for non-believers; and Cardinal Koenig, archbishop of Vienna. The French Jesuit Jean-Yves Calvez, a specialist in Marxism, has also been invited.
2. The president of the Lutheran World Federation, Bishop Zoltan Kaldy, the president of the Council of Free Churches in Hungary, and the chief rabbi of Budapest are also members of parliament. Cardinal Lekai was invited to join in 1985, but he refused under pressure from the Vatican.

Bulanyi's Dissidence: Basic Communities

Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Jul 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Henri Tinco: "The Bulanyi Affair"]

[Text] Father Gyorgy Bulanyi received us in his small apartment on Attila street in Budapest. His well-stocked bookshelves contained famous names and titles: ESPRIT, ETUDES, CONCILIUM, and theologians Congar, Chenu, and Schillebeeckx. He is a Piarist monk, age 68, and the prime mover behind the Hungarian basic communities, one of the rare grounds of theological and political argument. He calls himself the "black sheep" of the church and state.

He received a letter of condemnation from Cardinal Ratzinger last April, and this letter is supposed to be made public soon. He spent 9 years in prison (1952-61) and has never since regained the right to celebrate mass in public. Father Bulanyi considers himself to be oppressed more by the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy than by the government: "Since the Helsinki accords," he says, "the state has been limited in the pressure it can put on me. Cardinal Lekai took it upon himself to do it for them."

Some of his writings are said to have been tampered with, and he was condemned for "heresy" by an ecclesiastical tribunal in Budapest in 1982. His file was sent to Rome, to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. He is reproached mainly for theses contrary to dogma whereby priests receive their authority from the bishop and not from the communities they belong to.

He says that this theological dispute is only a pretext for political sanctions: "Cardinal Lékai lied. He invented a disagreement on dogma in order to punish me for my action in favor of conscientious objection."

For Father Bulanyi, the church and state in Hungary have made a "Constantinian" pact. He likes the model of the primitive communities, where the leaders are chosen from within. "The Christian vocation," he says, "is not to deal with the powerful but to be like Christ, to serve the poor, the humble and the persecuted."

These communities are limited in their freedom of expression and movement. "In the time of Stalin," Father Bulanyi concedes, "we would have long since been sent to the labor camps."

8782

CSO: 2900/6

DEPUTY PREMIER INTERVIEWED ON NEW YOUTH OFFICE

AU071130 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 86 p 5

[Interview with Deputy Premier Lajos Czinege, by Laszlo Karcagi: "Preparing for Adulthood--A Discussion with Lajos Czinege, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers"--date and place not given--first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Excerpts] We had a discussion with Deputy Premier Lajos Czinege, about the reorganization of state supervision of youth and sports affairs, the foundation of the State Office for Youth and Sports Affairs (AISH), the background of this decision, and the necessity for and duty of the new state office.

[Karcagi] So far, the National Youth Committee and its secretariat have supervised the implementation of national tasks concerning young people. In the case of sports affairs, there was the National Physical Education and Sports Office. Why has it been necessary to merge the activities of these two offices?

[Czinege] The structural merging is only the surface. The aims and the meaning of the change lie deeper. The general situation, various demands, and the changes in the tasks have made it necessary for the government to review and analyze on a state level the situation of implementing the youth and sports policy. In spite of some results and tangible efforts, the state agencies have not performed satisfactorily in coordinating and supervising their tasks relating to youth activities. Financial means are often dissipated and have not always been creating successfully the right conditions for implementing measures. This has required a change.

[Czinege] According to our intentions, this new office will have the daily duty of supervising and reviewing how the various youth affairs are treated in all fields of life and work, and whether these affairs are run at a satisfactory level and according to the law. It will have the right to put an end to shortcomings it notices even by state means, should all other means fail. I would like to add that not only state agencies are dealing with youth and sports affairs. It is extremely important for the new office to establish good cooperation with the KISZ, the National Council of Trade Unions, the Pioneer Federation, the PPF, and all political and social organizations.

Sport Is a Social Issue

[Karcagi] Youth policy and sports policy are connected in many ways. Is this, however, enough reason for managing youth and sports affairs from one single and joint office?

[Czinege] According to a more and more popular concept, sport is not only the privilege of young people. Yet, we think that physical movement is most important for the younger generation. Physical education and sport must be an integral part of preparing young people for life and an adulthood facing both physical and psychological hardships.

The government considers physical education and sport a social issue. We would like to achieve that, as a result of sport, the coming generations will grow up as enduring, healthy, physically and psychologically balanced people. This is in the joint interest of both the individual and society. We have also noticed that first class sport can only become really successful in the long term if those who participate come from a wide social basis.

[Karcagi] What is the office's setup as regards the distribution of labor with other state offices, authorities, as well as with social and political mass organizational institutions?

[Czinege] The Council of Ministers has already decided about some of these matters, but not all. For example, it was decided that the AISH will take over the supervision of student sport from the Ministry of Education and the organization of youth tourism from the Ministry of Domestic Trade. Pursuant to the decision, it is necessary to unify the activities of officers working in regional--council--departments of sports and youth affairs.

In addition, the new office will decide about the legal status of the Hungarian Olympic Committee, which is expected to change only to a small extent. It will also decide about the management of sports federations. (Referring to the latter, I think the right thing to do would be to give them more independence and responsibility.)

[Karcagi] A practical question: who will be the members of the new office and what is the size of the personnel?

[Czinege] The basis of the AISH is formed from the staff of the National Physical Education and Sports Office and the secretariat of the State Youth Commission. Of course, this will not mean that we simply intend to paint over the old sign-board, because the character and requirements of the work will be significantly different in the new office. We need an office apparatus that is ready and able to fulfill new and more comprehensive functions and tasks. We must be consistent in this. Simultaneously, the government has ensured that it can provide opportunities for and show tolerance toward settling personnel matters in a satisfactory and human way.

/9716

CSO: 2500/380

GOVERNMENT REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS APPROVED

Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 16 Jul 86

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)--MTI contributor Ferenc Toth writes:

In Geneva from July 14-16, the Human Rights Committee examined and, following thorough discussion, approved the detailed report of the Hungarian Government on the implementation in Hungary of the measures of the International Convention of Civic and Political Rights, in the years 1980-1985. This was the second occasion that the committee dealt with a Hungarian Government report in this theme: In 1980 it approved the similar report about the previous five years.

The fundamental statement of the document is that the enforcement and safeguarding of human rights in the Hungarian People's Republic is an indispensable condition of the development of the socialist social system. The Hungarian Constitution sets down a wide scope of civil rights and obligations.

As was again mentioned in Geneva, the standard of enforcing human rights in Hungarian society is social equality, participation in public affairs, full employment, and the evaluation of citizens according to their work, their socially useful activity. The legal system in Hungary is also developing in this direction, fully enforcing the spirit and concrete measures of international agreements on human rights.

In Hungary the constitution sets down the respect for human rights. This declares, both with its spirit and wording, that all kinds of discrimination according to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status is alien from the social order of the country.

On the basis of the general conscription set down in the constitution,, Hungarian citizens fulfil military service. In the course of this--and in other cases, as well--the state takes into consideration the articles of faith of the churches. Thus the state assures the possibility of fulfilling military service without weapons to the followers of those denominations in which the articles of faith expressly prohibit the use of arms.

The provisions of law make it possible for all Hungarian citizens who do not come under excluding measures, to travel abroad. Hungarian citizens may

also settle abroad, and some 2,000 such requests are considered each year, with 90-95 per cent of the applicants receiving permits. At present there are some 22,000 foreigners who have settled in Hungary, their legal status--with the exception of the right to vote considered as a political right--is the same or very similar to that of Hungarian citizens.

The constitution sets down the freedom of conscience, religious worship, and the possibilities for the operation of the churches is regulated by laws and other legal provisions, as well as by agreements between the state and the churches.

A constitutional thesis of major importance is that the freedom of speech, press and assembly is assured according to the interests of socialism and of the people.

With respect to the minorities: the Hungarian People's Republic ensures equality of rights, the use of the mother language, education in the mother language, the safeguarding and fostering of the minority culture to all minorities living in the country. The various--southern Slav, German, Slovak, Romanian--minority federations operate as independent social and interest representation organs.

The report discussed in Geneva noted as a major result in the development of jurisdiction that the Hungarian National Assembly enacted a new law in 1981 on the election of National Assembly representatives and council members.

The Human Rights Committee, consisting of experts from 18 countries, received the Hungarian report with unanimous appreciation.

/9716

CSO: 2500/380

MTI REPORTS ON FIGHT AGAINST DRUG ABUSE BY YOUNG PEOPLE

LD160845 Budapest MTI in English 0630 GMT 16 Jul 86

[Text] Budapest, July 16 (MTI)--Hungarian young people with sporadic experience in taking narcotics are estimated to number 30,000, including 2-5 per cent addicts, an insignificant ratio compared to the total population of 10.6 million. Following the pattern of the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which treated the problem as 'a disturbance of integration into society', the state youth commission has recently worked out a programme of prevention and care to combat the danger.

The use of narcotics emerged as a problem in the late 1960s, when 16-18-year-olds were first detected as inhaling the vapour of organic solvents in groups of 10 to 15. In the 1970s glue-sniffing became complete with sleeping pills and tranquilizers, usually combined with alcohol. A survey for the period 1974-1978 showed 5 per cent of secondary school children having tried one or another method, and the number of young addicts under hospital care increased from 98 in 1976 to 870 by 1980. Young people make the first try with narcotics generally at the age of 10 to 14, and the average age of addicts is 15-18 years, with one in three being a girl.

In keeping with a government decision of 1985, the State Youth Commission, along with the three ministries, has adopted a comprehensive programme of prevention and care to improve public information on narcotics, the disease itself and the role of social environment. Several special and publicity publications are to be issued for teachers, physicians, parents and children. Such publications will be available for teachers in the upper grades of year. The Hungarian film-making company is shooting three films on the subject, and plans include the setting up of a telephone advisory service.

Prevention is served by a group of physicians, sociologists, psychologists and lawyers which was set up to compile a bank of information and work out preventive model programmes. Advisory work groups have been formed in two counties, with their complex activity ranging from detoxication to after-care service. It is planned to set up a nation-wide system of such groups.

As no therapy can be effective if the patient returns to his original environment, the programme calls for the foundation of medicopedagogic institutes to facilitate reintegration by means of education and labour therapy. Such attempts are under way in County Somogy and Budapest. For young people eligible to outpatient treatment, transitional sanatoria are to open first in Szeged and Pecs. The measures are hoped to prevent the use of narcotics from assuming such proportions as in the West.

BRIEFS

MIKLOS VISITS CSSR--Prague July 11 (NTI)--On invitation of the Church Affairs Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Federal Government, Hungarian State Secretary Imre Miklos, president of the Hungarian State Office for Church Affairs and Sandor Boros, Deputy department chief of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, visited Prague July 9th to 11th. They exchanged views with their hosts on issues concerning relations between the Socialist State and the church. The delegation was received by Jan Fojtik, alternate member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, secretary of the Central Committee. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1812 GMT 11 Jul 86 LD]

ACZEL IN LUXEMBOURG, BELGIUM--Budapest, July 4 (MTI)--Gyorgy Aczel, member of the HSWP political committee, paid a visit to Luxembourg on July 1-2 on the invitation of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers' Party. Gyorgy Aczel held talks with President Rene Urbany and other leaders of the Communist Party, Ben Faillot, president of the Socialist Workers' Party, Willy Dondelinger, member of the Political Directorate of the Socialist Workers' Party and president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of Parliament, and Robert Goebbels, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Leon Bolendorff, speaker of Parliament, gave a dinner in Gyorgy Aczel's honour. On July 3-4 Gyorgy Aczel visited Belgium on the invitation of the Communist Party, the French-speaking Socialist Party and the Flemish Socialist Party. Gyorgy Aczel held talks with leaders of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium. He met Karel van Niert, president of the Flemish Socialist Party, and Guy Spitaels, president of the French-speaking Socialist Party, and visited the Vandervelde Institute for Social Sciences of the Flemish Socialist Party. Gyorgy Aczel met members of the Hungarian-Belgian friendship group of the Belgian Parliament, and leaders of the Parliamentary group of the Flemish Socialist Party. Gyorgy Aczel met Leo Tindemans, Minister of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 4 Jul 86 LD]

DRA DELEGATION DEPARTS--Budapest, July 6 (NTI)--A delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), headed by Abdul Rashid Aryan, chairman of the PDPA Central Control Commission, member of the Central Committee and vice-president of the Revolutionary Council, visited Hungary from June 30 to July 6 on the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The delegation met Miklos Gvari, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and held talks with Geza Kertai, member of the Central Committee, and head of the Foreign Affairs

Department, Imre Somogyi, secretary of the Central Control Commission, and Jozsef Gyorko, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department. The politicians informed one another on the work of their parties and exchanged views on topical international affairs, with special regard to the situation around Afghanistan. They reinforced their position that the foreign intervention backed by the extreme imperialist forces and aimed against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan should be ceased. They also expressed their conviction that it was the condition of a reassuring and peaceful settlement. The representatives of the two parties reconfirmed that they wished to further develop inter-party relations. In this spirit, Gera Kotal and Abdul Rashid Aryan signed an inter-party cooperation agreement for 1986-1988. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1520 GMT 6 Jul 86 LD]

AUTO EXPORT AGREEMENT--Hungarian and Chinese enterprises have agreed about further deliveries of Raba vehicles. The agreement is worth nearly 45 million Swiss francs. An agreement has also been reached about the delivery by the Chinese partners of 3,000 Polski Fiat 126 cars. The explanation for this agreement is that in Hungarian-Chinese goods turnover, Hungarian exports outweigh imports, so enterprises from both countries have for a long time been searching for new import options from China. According to the current deal, the Chinese partner of the Moguert enterprise will re-export the Polish cars to Hungary. The Polski cars will of course arrive from Poland; only the accounting is three-sided. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1650 GMT 7 Jul 86 LD]

/9716

CSO: 2500/380

NEED TO PREVENT, COMBAT RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN YOUTH

Role of Educated Cited

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian No 4, Apr 86
pp 7-8

[Article by Prof Mihaela Viliman, G. Enescu Lyceum of Art, Bucharest: "An Important Educational Task for the School--Preventing and Combatting the Phenomenon of Religiousness among Pupils"]

[Text] At the school attendance age, religiousness is an isolated phenomenon. It occurs in relatively rare cases and exclusively among school children from families belonging to various religious groups. This is the result of the thorough and sustained scientific-materialist and atheistic activity conducted from the very first years of school attendance and in most cases supported by a favorable formative family environment. Psychosocial expressions of semireligiousness are more commonly observed, however, than full-fledged religious observance. They take the form of adoption and practice of superstitions, acceptance of the supernatural, a receptive attitude toward irrational explanations of phenomena in nature and society, and sometimes attitudes of a mystic nature that arise against the background of moments of tension in school life, frequenting of religious institutions, and fetishistic behavior. Although they do not reflect a state of religiousness, they may indicate an environment that under certain conditions favors religious development it.

All behavior of an essentially mystic nature, which is more frequent in rural areas, generally occurs under conditions of a low level of culture, and sometimes against the background of emotional situations (states of insecurity, fear, and tension). These forms of elementary mysticism must be counteracted with well-reasoned explanation, persuasive demonstration of the futility of such behavior, and cultivation of a system of thinking based on scientific-materialistic and revolutionary humanistic principles, a system in which the school child believes and on the basis of which he acts in coping with any difficult situation in life. This necessitates deep knowledge and thorough analysis of the individual psychology to make it possible to strengthen mental stability and stimulate confidence in the individual's own abilities, society, science, and technology and belief in man's ability to transform and constantly improve human society through his own efforts.

Secular structures and atheistic attitudes are the result of an educational process in which the emotional-affective element must perform a stimulative role. The efficiency of the educational process is ensured largely by the intensity of the emotional experience associated with it. The general human need for intensely emotional experiences (also attested by folk festivals, which, as is pointed out by folklore expert F. Fl. Marian, "have often been celebrated with much greater solemnity than religious holidays")--this stressing the necessity for emotional participation rather than religion--is also supported by the fact that most behavior of a mystical nature is not adopted out of conviction but as a distraction, a pretext for an intensely emotional experience without reference to the religious content of the element involved. It has been ascertained that the majority of pupils tested regard the observance of traditional customs with a religious background merely as an occasion for diversion. They appreciate the spectacular element, and especially the abundance and diversity of foods, while remaining unaware or displaying only vague knowledge of the religious significance of the customs involved.

The need for emotional participation can be filled in the context of the school through the organization of ceremonies with a secular content, through all the forms of activities connected with the Pioneer organization and the Union of Communist Youth, recreational activities organized in school, and artistic events including presentation of folk customs. It is important in this connection for the school to include or provide guidance for organization of pupil free time. All these activities must be conducted as one way of exerting an influence on shaping of the atheistic consciousness and of reinforcing the scientific materialist conception of the world, especially in the case of pupils coming from religious families or known to be members of religious groups. This task creates special problems, because of the need for displacing the backward, mystical religious elements present in the consciousness of the pupil as a result of the cognitive guidance provided by education within the family before the child begins school and afterward.

Convictions and motivations, including religious ones, do not appear before adolescence. Consequently, there are better prospects during the period of school attendance for molding an atheistic consciousness for harmonious development of the pupil's personality. Religious feeling is known to be merely conventional during the period of school attendance among pupils of families belonging to religious denominations. The religious option is generally made in late adolescence (between the ages of 17 to 20). This is a period during which the young person consciously analyzes religious dogmas in the light of the knowledge that he has acquired and the system of thought that has been formed. In the event of a low cultural level, one of insufficiently developed atheistic convictions, the danger exists that the data of science will be re-interpreted to support religious belief, and the difficulty of winning the young person over to society will be heightened. Up to this time, however, the young person can be separated from the religious group to which he has belonged by steadfast effort, efficiently applied in all cases, toward molding scientific materialist convictions, a revolutionary humanist spirit, and well-reasoned refutation of religious precepts.

We must note the care frequently taken in certain religious cults to bring about isolation from sources of information that generates uncertainties and

cognitive dilemmas. This isolation is carried to the point of avoidance of mass media forms of information and encouragement of lack of interest by the young people concerned in these forms and in school educational activities. That is, attempts are made to restrict knowledge to theological postulates. A trait often encountered in such pupils is disregard of socially useful activities and work (physical and mental). All these elements find expression in repeated avoidance of participation in various practical public activities (patriotic work, participation in gathering harvests, etc) resulting in marginal eligibility for promotion in school activities. Such attitudes call for resolute but tactful expression of the opinion of the class and sustained educational activities to promote a positive attitude toward work and toward the concept that the value of man under socialism is determined by his desire and ability to contribute to the advancement and continuing improvement of socialist society.

The need for integration into the class as a collective and a favorable attitude toward fulfillment of scholastic obligations represent a point of departure in taking action to mold the attitudes of pupils with religious inclinations. Assignment of responsibilities at the class level, evaluation of the extent of their fulfillment, expression of appreciation by the entire class for the method found for solving problems, and encouragement for small successes achieved can all be effective means of erasing the religious pupil in the activities of the class collective and the educational activities conducted by the school. Assurance of intense participation at the emotional level is of major importance in establishing solid atheistic convictions and eliminating religious elements from thought. Scientific truths are to be contrasted with the irrationality of religious thought and religious precepts, on the basis of concrete facts and with emphasis placed on motivation. The object is to raise doubts about these religious precepts. The process is to be supported by open discussion, stimulation of epistemic curiosity, development of an exploratory attitude toward reality and a desire to search for the truth, and stimulation of interest in and promotion of the new.

These are only some of the elements that might be decisive in molding the new type of human personality, with its superior moral consciousness and a scientific conception of the world meeting the needs of the new stage of development of socialist society.

Proselytizing Methods Must Be Exposed

Bucharest INVATAMINTUL LICEAL SI TEHNIC PROFESIONAL in Romanian No 4, Apr 86 pp 8-9

[Article by Prof Ioan Boncota: "Exposure of Proselytizing Practices as an Objective Necessity in the Work of Atheistic Education of Youth"]

[Text] The revolutionary changes that have taken place and are continuing to take place in Romania and the intensive ideological and cultural-educational activity conducted by the party have led to essential restructuring from the intellectual and cultural viewpoints and to raising of the level of consciousness of the workers.

Although socialism has eliminated the fundamental causes of religion as a complex social phenomenon, religion does not disappear spontaneously and

cannot be suppressed by administrative measures. Situations and circumstances which create the possibility of persistence of religious concepts and practices have not entirely disappeared.

Under these conditions it is necessary to increase the militancy of political educational work toward mystical and religious conceptions and attitudes. All available resources are to be used to promote the revolutionary dialectical-materialist and historical concept, by means both of the educational process itself and of the forms of educational work organized by the school in cooperation with child and youth organizations.

An essential requirement of activities for scientific materialist education and for counteracting the religious phenomenon is represented by knowledge and exposure of the strategies of religious proselytism. This is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the efficiency of this activity.

In the case of educational authorities, and educational institutions above all, this requirement must be met in activities conducted to prevent the religious phenomenon or to recover individual pupils under the influence of various religious cults and sects.

In their attempts to penetrate the most varied social and professional environments, some religious cults and sects are acting with increasing persistence and by subtle methods to bring the younger generations under the suffocating power of religious bigotry and fanaticism.

It is no coincidence that religious proselytism is aimed particularly at children and adolescents, who alone are capable of ensuring continuity of the religious phenomenon in the social perspective. This explains the fact that proselytism concentrates on attempts at conversion, and some cults and sects assign missionary activities as a basic requirement for membership in the cult.

Under these conditions the essential feature of religious proselytism is represented precisely by diversification of strategies for attracting new adherents, adaptation of these strategies to the changes taking place in the sociopolitical life of the country, and differentiated and large-scale use of means of exerting emotional and esthetic influence and of providing material mutual assistance. In many cases there is also increasing recourse to pressures of a psychological nature, practices of psychosocial diversion in the life of groups, but especially that of the individual, and to virulence and hypocrisy.

Of great methodological value in precisely this context is a comment made by the party general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. He has stated clearly and unequivocally that "we intend to continue to ensure normal pursuit of the activities of religious cults, in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the country. Of course, we have not allowed and will not allow anyone in the future to use these cults to engage in activities against the people, the building of socialism, and the independence and sovereignty of the country."

Following these guidelines of great practical importance, all authorities with educational responsibilities must increase the efficiency of scientific

materialist educational activities on the basis of profound knowledge of the ways and means of proselytism and of the ideational content of religious cult practices as a premise for action to prevent and counteract the mystical-religious influences exerted on children and adolescents by some cults and sects.

The ways and means of attracting young people to religious practices differ with the nature and doctrinal characteristics of each cult or sect, the social-professional and cultural milieu in which it is active, the age characteristics of the individuals who are to be converted, and the level of culture and education of these individuals. Thus, the measures on which the strategy of religious proselytism is based are acquiring new connotations of a psychosocial, intellectual, esthetic, moral, economic, and even political nature. They are given concrete expression in characteristic features such as the targeting of individuals for conversion, subtlety, gradualness of action, tact, material incentives and moral encouragement, persuasion, situational compromise, speculation, and promises. In some cases even economic blackmail is resorted to. Overall analysis of the methods of proselytism ultimately reveals that these methods are simple and systematic, differentiated and veiled in nature. They are aimed at the deep strata of subjectivity of the young persons, and they are tending to more widespread,

One category is represented by indirect methods, which conceal the attempt at religious attraction and indoctrination behind elements which are secular in their form or appearance but which have a certain attraction for young people. An important place among these methods is occupied by increase in religious display through renovation and painting of cult buildings, increase in the funds allocated for religious display, systematic organization of religious festivals and fairs, long-distance pilgrimages (between counties), the tendency to hold religious services in order present impressive events, numerical visits by prelates, organization of choirs, groups of public reciters, fanfares, guitar and mandolin orchestras, chamber orchestras, street processions on the occasion of weddings or funerals, organization of excursions for young people combined with recitation of poetry and songs, interpretation of biblical sketches, organization of celebrations on the occasion of departure for military service, celebration of coming of age, engagements, birthdays, name days, etc. In addition, in some areas of the country some cults organize study groups for teaching foreign languages to permit the reading of religious texts (in English) brought into the country by colportage.

The use of modern audiovisual means and of specific materials increases the degree of emotional and esthetic influence of various cult practices (films, slides, disks, tape recordings, and equipment for reproduction of religious propaganda materials).

Some cults organize groups for teaching children and adolescents to play musical instruments (piano, mandolin, guitar), photographic studios, dance married people, and young couples. Such practices are followed in an attempt to assign a positive social and moral role to various cults, to present them as spiritual catalysts in a world of loneliness.

Another category is made up of direct methods such as the following:

Administration of the catechism as a major means of religious indoctrination and initiation of children and adolescents in religious dogma, it is designed as a form of religious education and is organized in cycles as a function of age, with attendance mandatory. A specific system of notation and evaluation of progress in assimilation of religious dogma is used in some situations.

Forms of material assistance provided for children and adolescents. They are given concrete expression in free excursions and monetary grants for school children and for sick persons.

Intensification of the activities of religious cults and sects in public places (hospitals, hostels and boarding schools, day schools, the military service, etc).

Religious propaganda in the form of secret dissemination of religious texts, manifestos, poetry, books, magazines, calendars, religious objects, etc.

Exertion of systematic moral and psychological pressure by preachers and priests on families to encourage children to participate in catechism activities.

The sole purpose of this summary review of the strategies of religious proselytism among children and adolescents is to mobilize school officials whose duty it is to intensify scientific materialist activities to assume a militant attitude toward the influence still exerted by the religious phenomena among some groups of pupils and to abandon the wait-and-see attitude still exhibited toward such phenomena which involve a high degree of social danger with respect to revolutionary communist education of young people.

6115

CSO: 2700/196

TOPICS OF POLITICAL NOVELS DISCUSSED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 19, 8 May 86 p 11

[Article by Liviu Leonte: "The Political Novel"]

[Text] The militant character of Romanian literature can be distinguished as far back as in the period of its beginnings, manifesting itself as a constant, with accents in periods of effervescence, such as the "lights" of the 18th century, forty-eight-ism [the 1848 revolution in Romania], the era preceding the Great Union, or that inaugurated by the revolution for social and national liberation. The political component manifested itself more directly in poetry, and for prose, for the novel in particular, tradition registers primarily a social dimension, with the political being an attribute that has become fully established in current Romanian literature, in the context of involving the whole culture. In fact, wherever we may look around in the literature that is being written in all areas in our century, the involvement of the writers in the worrisome, often tragic problems of the contemporary world is the most striking phenomenon.

Much has been written about the political novel, and very probably more will yet be written. The concept still remains quite clear, and only the desire for "subtle" interpretations that play with the meaning of the ideas leads to the beclouding of it. In a poll in 1983, I encountered the suggestion, half in jest, half in earnest, of integrating into the concept works like "Pseudokynigheticos" or "Pînă la Stamate" [Pînă and Stamate]. Not every literary production with a political character is necessarily valuable, and not every valuable work is also political, unless, through a whole series of deductions, we say that it is representative of a trend or a whole literature. Undoubtedly, the theme has great importance, but not decisive importance. The conception brings the decisive element, it creates also the "matter" in its spirit, so that the trilogy "Cel mai iubit dintre pămînteni" [The Most Beloved of Earthlings] is less a book about the myth of happiness through love, as the narrating character believes, than, basically, a political novel.

A number of works, now available to everyone, were not always understood in the same way. In the 1950's, all literature had to be political in a certain way, decreed in the office, regardless of the reality of life, regardless of the reality of literature itself. The consequences were seen: Poor books written by good authors according to a formula appeared, and good books were

rejected with dogmatic stubbornness. "Droaia" [The Drift] was discussed as if it were a political novel, and "Bietul Ioanide" [The Innkeeper] was reproached for a swing along the extreme rightwing movement in the 1940's, although G. Calinescu condemns it both theoretically and for its bad influence on the existence of individuals. The past helps us to see better the value of the present. However, it is wrong for us to blame this stage only with our scorn. The good books appeared—it is true—in a lower proportion than in the following stages, but they attained heights of value difficult to approach later. In addition to "Bietul Ioanide" and "Droaia," the first volume of "Morometii" [The Morometes], a message of probity and of illumination of the spirit sent by the world of the Romanian village, ought to be mentioned. In "Morometii," Marin Preda validates artistically a memorable statement by G. Calinescu, formulated polemically against the denial of the complexity of the peasant spirit: "The peasant and Kant ask themselves the same questions, with the difference that the latter answers them in a different technique." The democratization of the character means at the same time the recognition of his intellectual and ethical superiority. Since its beginnings, nurtured by the contribution of all generations of writers, contemporary literature has been enriched with the appearance of novels with a marked political character, belonging to first-rate artistic personalities. Mihail Sadoveanu revives in "Mircea Badea" [Nicolae Hurmuzachi] the heroic story "Mihail" [The Fairies], elevating it to the serious status of an epic cycle. "Ce se intampla" [What Happened] also contains the character questions from "Zorzi Ielelor" [The Dance of the Fairies] or "Danton," and "Bietul Ioanide" transposes into the domain of the novel one of the four myths from which, in G. Calinescu's view, all Romanian literature has grown. These books have a common factor. They respond to a capital question: What is the role of the superior person, of the personality, in history? The formation of the new culture depended on the response given; the books clarified not only the position of the authors but also those of the whole intelligentsia.

The period inaugurated by the Ninth CCP Congress had the merit of having released the creative energies, of having permitted the expansion of the artistic verbalization in the discussion of real problems in the spirit of responsibility. Stylistic diversity represents one of the aims. Whereas the reality made of Balzacian origin predominated almost exclusively in the preceding stage, we have witnessed in the last 20 years the enrichment of the forms of expression, the active synchronization, also including the critical, personal look, with the trends manifested in world literature. In addition to Marin Preda's total social, political, and psychological realism, we encounter the prose of transparency with broad theoretical references (philosophical and political) in Alexandru Ivăsiuc, the analytical prose of historical and social problems in Augustin Bazura, the realism with bridgecrossings toward the fabulous in Ionuț Neagu and toward the fabulous and fantastic in Ovidiu Eadu Predescu, the alternation of the fantastic with the allegorical in a guffawing comic style in Laurențiu Fulga—and the list goes on with the mention of other names and artistic formulas. However, the stylistic diversity, exemplified by a climate of competition, is a result of deeper transformations. They have occurred in the very way of understanding literature, in the assumption of a historical perspective and in the writings inspired by the present, which previously were tributary to a memorial view. Reality has penetrated

into the body of the work of art, not through narrowly concrete elements, but through its involvement in history, in the structural changes in the whole Romanian society. The "historicizing" of literature has caused one of its essential themes to be the relationship between history and individual destiny. The spirit of the truth has fertilized the literature of the last 2 decades, and literature is responding to the reader's "horizon of expectation," helping at the same time to mold this horizon.

The social and the political continue to remain in the attention of the Romanian writer, and it is to be supposed that the phenomenon has permanent attributes. "Unfortunately for the desire of many present-day novices for the atemporal," Marin Preda writes in "Imposibila intoarcere" [The Impossible Turn], "the novel is connected with history and suffocates without it." The very notion of the political incorporated into literature has been enriched, with a comparison with the preceding stage proving to be revealing here too. Whereas the political was previously viewed as an external category, with a few immutable traits according to which the actions of the characters were judged (in order to be suitable, the heroes had to be constructed according to a certain formula), literature now understands the political as an inner reality of existence, intertwined with other values. Each writer, remaining attached to the humanism of our society, poses more stimulating questions than the answers known before. Last but not least, the literary consciousness of the writers, the writing of these books and the reception of them as literary works first, even if they have a marked political message, represents an important element. Whatever concessions the writer also makes to the theme as such, whatever errors of extra-aesthetic judgment that the public makes, the conviction that a book must be, first and foremost, literature has taken root. We find it explicitly in one of the recent political novels, "Muzeul de ceara" [The Wax Museum], when, by means of a convention, the person who served as a model for a character takes over the narrative from the author. The character-turned-narrator, who previously gave advice to the professional writer, sees, when he begins to write, that things are not as simple as he believed. Reading his own pages, he is dissatisfied, thinks about the coagulating forces of art, about the fact that, in order to reconstitute life, you must know how to produce literature.

Recognizing the role of the favoring factors, of the beneficial climate for creation, it is necessary for us to focus on the decisive element, the writer's work, this presupposing his talent, attitude, commitment. From whatever angle we may view him, Marin Preda takes on the aspect of a forerunner. The novel "Risipitorii" [The Spendthrifts] (1962) represents a landmark in the history of contemporary Romanian prose, proposing a meditation on the topic of behavior in our society, together with an essayistic formula, in accordance with the general evolution of literature. Likewise, the second volume of "Morometii" has the significance of a beginning, pointing out the dimensions of the process that radically changed the Romanian village and the reflection of the process in the consciousness of the people, and the trilogy "Cel mai iubit dintre paminteni" inaugurates for the novel a new age, that of syntheses, indicative of the maturity of a literature. Dumitru Radu Popescu's cycle of novels, placed between "F" and "Imparatul norilor" [The Emperor of the Clouds], reconstitutes in a baroque construction--alternating the sublime with

the grotesque, the comic with the tragic, purity with vulgarity--a historical stage, with an accent on the ethical problems, the reaction to injustice and abuse of power. The new cycle, "Viata si opera lui Tiron B." [The Life and Work of Tiron B.], comes with a novelistic formula more directly connected with history, with the crucial events at the start of the revolution. The pathos of the truth runs through these books imbued with the humanism of our times. It is no accident that the inquiry-novel is being cultivated, as Dumitru Radu Popescu does in the majority of his books. In "Fetele tacerii. Orgolii" [The Faces of Silence. Vainglories], Augustin Buzura also returns to one of the favorite themes of the current literature connected with the exercise of power; the intransigent Cristescu invests his efforts not only in the absorbing profession but also in the struggle with obtuseness and egoism, managing to mold an exemplary personality for himself. Alexandru Ivasiuc's novels view from the inside the mechanism of power; as a result of a trauma, the characters reconsider their existence from the angle of authenticity, as happens with Ion Marina ("Cunoastere de noapte" [Knowledge of Night]), Dumitru Vinea ("Pasarile" [The Poultry]), and Paul Achim ("Iluminari" [Illuminations]). A lack of synchronization can appear between history and individual destiny, as in "Suferinta urmasilor" [The Suffering of the Descendants] or "Fiul Secetii" [The Son of the Drought] by Ion Lancranjan, and the consciousness of the writer who assumes the role of judging, of drawing the lessons for the individual and the group, remains essential. The idea of regeneration through suffering can be encountered in the mythical, fabulous projection in "Ingerul a strigat" [The Angel Shouted], Fanus Neagu's novel, and in "Galeria cu vita salbatica" [The Gallery With Wild Vine] by Constantin Toiu, a meditation on the relationship between the ephemeral and the enduring through the agency of a character at once strong and fragile. Let us not forget the parabolic novel, with a wealth of meanings that transcend the geographic or temporal framework, a novel whose capstone is "Princepele" [The Prince] by Eugen Barbu, just as the cycle of novels of historical evocation, "Zapezile de acum un veac" [The Snows of a Century Ago], is represented by Paul Anghel.

It follows clearly that the tabu subjects have now disappeared, that in the thematic universe there is room for lights and shadows, for successes and failures. All experiences have a right to a literary existence as long as they enlighten us about the human condition and about lived history. In the speech at the Working Conference on Problems of Organizational, Political, and Educational Work on 2-3 August 1983, the secretary general of the party stressed the necessity that art discover the "young trees," "everything that is good and worthy in our society, in the work and life of the builders of socialism." Such characters exist in our literature, extracted from various categories, but especially among those found in the front ranks of the makers of history. There are writers who have gone by preference to these characters, such as Platon Pardau in his first novels, Dinu Sararu, Al. Simion, and so on. The exemplary heroes are seen either from the perspective of membership in social groups ("Apa" [The Water]) or from that of the relevant personalities ("Marele singuratic" [The Great Loner] and "Pumnul si palma" [The Fist and the Palm]). In "Apa," Alexandru Ivasiuc deals with the period immediately after the Liberation, when one world was dying and another, in still imprecise forms, was rising on its ruins. The novel's area of interest lies in catching the transition from a somewhat vague consciousness of the situation to the

revelation of what was required by the stage being traversed. In "Pumnul si palma," Dumitru Popescu focuses on two characters as aspects of the revolutionary spirit, Manole Suru and Vladimir Cernea, complementary natures, the former personifying pragmatism, the capacity for immediate, efficient action, and the latter personifying speculative intelligence, the possibility of seeing the hidden facets of things. Nicolae Moromete from "Marele singuratic" is also situated among the makers of history. Disappointed by a series of failures, he tries to seclude himself in order to be free from disappointments. His experiment does not succeed, reality refutes his defeatist theses, and only by returning to society can he respond to violence and avoid complicity in injustice. Someone in the novel speaks to him about the impossibility of "escaping," about the necessary similarity to his fellows, to those alongside whom his existence acquires meaning. This similarity is also manifested in the values produced in our era, with literature possessing a prominent place through its message imbued with the noble ideas of humanism.

12105

CSO: 2700/202

VOLUME ON CONTEMPORARY PROSE REVIEWED

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian No 25, 20 Jun 86 p 4

[Article by Ioan Holban: "The Conquest of Tradition"]

[Text] A must-read book is "Romanian Prose of Today" (Ed. "Cartea Romaneasca", 1945) by Cornel Ungureanu. After all the debates, surveys and round-tables that created both a stimulus and an appropriate atmosphere for the appearance of some syntheses of contemporary literature, they are now beginning to appear: Eugen Simion with his "Romanian Writers of Today" and Eugen Negrici, Gheorghe Grigore and Liviu Leonte are now joined by Cornel Ungureanu with a first volume about our current epic literature, which follows the main directions and principal prose writers, up to the crossroads of 1965. The criterion used by the writer in arranging this vast amount of materia is that of generations; argued and adopted, shaded or refused, minimized or over-solicited, the concept remains, at least for now, the only truly efficient instrument for systematizing our contemporary literature in order to put together a "history" which, in Cornel Ungureanu's perspective, is one of the literary values. An approach to the prose of today through form was done by Nicolae Manolescu in "Noah's Ark" and by Ede G. Teposu in "Life and Opinions of Personalities"; the selections there were very strict since the texts served a certain system for which hundreds of years of the Romanian novel were circumscribed. Cornel Ungureanu's synthesis is considerably different as well from that of Eugen Simion; if the author of Rhetorical Provocations had in mind, in the first instance, the writers of today, following the Lovinescu model of covering contemporary literature, Cornel Ungureanu refers to the prose of today ("For anyone who reads attentively, it will be apparent that we write not so much about the prose writers as about their prose," he writes in the Foreword) of which the first stage, "The Conquest of Tradition", covers the first 20 years (1944-1965) of the contemporary novel.

It should be noted that the author does not overdo the theory, reducing to a minimum the chapters devoted to a general examination of the evolutionary steps of contemporary prose; the Foreword is primarily a summary, covering some more "sentimental" arguments; the division of authors into various groups is not motivated other than by some elliptical propositions placed at the beginning, on the model of the resume that precedes such and such a sequence of a picaresque novel or, here, of the historical Sadovenian novel. Thus, in "Prose of the First Decade", Cornel Ungureanu admits two

main sections: the first is that of the great interbellum prose writers (Mihail Sadoveanu, Camil Petrescu, G. Calinescu), still active in the 6th decade, authorities on the management of models and of literary models, as in administration proper (nevertheless this first chapter leaves out Ios Marin Sadoveanu). Corneli Ungureanu's analyses are profound and exact; in Mihail Sadoveanu, for example, the critic observes the structural opposition to Western-type society, which could explain the literature written or signed by the great writer in the 1950s. Corneli Ungureanu believes, together with others, that "Mitrea Cocor" is not Sadoveanu's book but rather "a work of consensus and of some urgencies," carried out by authors who knew Sadoveanisms and its specific literary traits, otherwise called the 'recipe' well. In approaching the works of these 3 greats, the critic stresses the writer's ties to the epoch and its imperatives; for Sadoveanu as well as for Camil Petrescu and G. Calinescu, he tries to offer models: of behavior, thought and revolutionary conscience in "Mitrea Cocor", of technical narrative in the texts of Camil Petrescu, of rewriting earlier books into books for "the new literature," for both, and of imagery in "The Black Chest of Drawers." The idea which, in my opinion, unites literature written in the 1950s by Sadoveanu, Camil Petrescu and G. Calinescu is the understanding (desired or forced) of writing as the repetition of the social revolution: the writer's act means the destruction of some old (textual) order for another original structure, appropriate in subject and much removed (in many cases) artistically from the original: read thus, at least the books of Mihail Sadoveanu and "A Man Among Men" by Camil Petrescu can today be judged with impartiality, sine ira...

The second section of "Prose of the First Decade" covers Zaharia Stancu, Geo Bogza, Eugen Barbu and Titus Popovici. Among the most substantial, the study of Zaharia Stancu does justice to the journalist, founder and manager of some important journals of the fourth decade as well as AZI and LUMEA ROMANEASCA. Corneli Ungureanu writes an admirable synthesis of the 1940s in the margin of "programs" of the journal AZI, paying due attention to the publicist unfairly ignored by those occupied with Zaharia Stancu, namely, Zaharia Sangeorzan in the volume that appeared in "Critical Library" (in 1972); he is sure that the publicist represents the party of resistance to the activities of Zaharia Stancu, who remains--as the critic says in a dictionary definition--"a newsmen disguised as a novelist. As far as the proposed identification between "Mitrea Cocor" and "The Vagabond" is concerned, from the perspective of concepts, Corneli Ungureanu is again right with his facts: if "Mitrea Cocor" was the textbook, "The Vagabond" is the composition which artistically illustrates the fundamental principles of the books. The study of Zaharia Stancu also approaches the one in which the critic deals with the work of Marin Preda; the thematic analysis here will constitute, I have no doubt, an important chapter in the bibliography of the author of "Morometii," Corneli Ungureanu having practically exhausted sources, books and all kinds of information about the life and writing of the great novelist. Often the analyses are based on statements by the writers themselves, without giving them full credit (like confessions, they should be used cautiously). Corneli Ungureanu invokes interviews and statements of belief to color interpretations in which he makes an extravagance of intelligence and the associative spirit. Leaving the contemporary (in the strict, limiting sense of those who are alive and writing), the "marginal"

disappears, the language is freer, with Corneli Ungureanu valuing the qualities of a "critic of objection," to which many are humbly devoted. In the article on Eugen Barbu, for example, a "belligerent warring of Homer's" is cited in a visible location, which, like Homer, himself, invokes ("I am at least a part of all that I have mentioned") and which rigorously reveals at least 2 types of ambiguity, speaking more the "writer-performer." With respect to analysis the critic manifests an evident preference for "dense" texts, created in the perspective of an "archaic horizon," which extracts substance from magic and mythology. Thus, the studies of Eugen Barbu, V. Voiculescu, D.R. Popescu, Flaminia Dănilă and Ștefan Ionescu are the most interesting and most original of the entire book. At times, in "strategically" chosen places, Corneli Ungureanu proposes panoramic images of the period of the sixth decade, at which, in order to "recover" exactly 10 writers, he has to read the "book" of another 100.

In the Foreword, Corneli Ungureanu analyzes the time between the Romanian writer and the East European, asserting that the comparison should not be with French, American, English or German writers, but rather with East European literature and specifically with the "archaic horizon, the magic-mythical space of the rural world." The article on Ștefan Ionescu, which opens the second section of the volume, "The Generation of the 1960s," causes the critic to revive and "sharpen" these preliminary observations. The track proposed by Corneli Ungureanu is plausible, but cannot cover the specifics of our contemporary prose and even less of the writers themselves. The interbellum era was too little aware of any hostile (for reasons all too well known) to the influence of any of the rich East European literatures; the translations that were made in that period were, almost exclusively, to acquaint us, too, with the great Western European experience. Coverage of that part in our prose tradition is thus missing. Is the period to which Corneli Ungureanu refers, we are witness to a radical change in cultural politics, but the effects can be seen primarily in the quality of translations and less in the plans of direct influence. On this, as they are, are based more as a "subconscious collective" and related exclusively to the "magic-mythical space of the rural world," even when we come across motifs, taken primarily from East European folklore. It would first be seen, then, to what extent we can speak of the influence or popular epic on the present culture before we can make the comparison leveled by Corneli Ungureanu. Otherwise, the ways in which the critic assumes things in analyzing the prose of the 1960s generation are exact: "normalization, labor and the model of STEAUA. Another observation: if the prose of the sixth decade is valued as "prefabricated" reality and the "photograph" in text to describe the world that is made, the members of the '60's generation were turning to their origins, toward the world to be known. The difference is striking and comparable to that between creative and reflexive, between taking action and participating. If we leave the linguistic space to expand here on Corneli Ungureanu's analysis of the prose of the 1960s generation, they are intelligent, useful and generally useful. I am well pleased by the premisses of the book, even if the profile of D.R. Popescu (cycles F and "The little world of Hiron R." will be analyzed—they tell us—in the second half of the book) and a mistaken

title, probably due to a typo (instead of "Lady, Here Is Your Son" there appears "Mama, Here Is Your Son") and the ignoring of the main pseudonym of Radu Cosaru which, of course, was Radu Costin.

"Romanian Prose of Today" represents a first synthesis of our contemporary epic writing, Cornel Ungureanu providing with this volume one possible approach to a history of our current literature; the Timisoara critic is successful, I would say, in this price example of an imposing and exhaustive project.

9794/9835

CSO: 2700/210

PROFESSOR PLEASED BY RESULTS OF CEANGAU FORUM

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian No 21, 24 May 86 p 5

[Letter by Prof Ioan Martinas: "The Joy of Reestablishing the Historical Truth"; first paragraph is LUCEAFARUL introduction]

[Text] The discussion organized by the periodical LUCEAFARUL on the topic of the true origin of the Ceangau people, based mainly on the arguments of the Romanian language, as well as on those of history, has stirred up a natural interest and a wide response among our readers, especially among those to whom the discussion does justice in a reasoned manner. The many telephone calls, letters, and visits to the editorial office because of this discussion have as a result the present layout of letters and texts received at the editorial office, for which we are making room, piecemeal, in the pages of the periodical, open further to the dialogue with the readers on this topic.

I am pleased that now, at the age of 86, I have managed to see my dream come true, to see fulfilled my old "prophecy," expressed as follows in writing in January 1944: "However, we hope that the time is coming when science based not only on blood analysis but also on other data will speak about the Romanianism of the Moldavian Catholics. Because the unbiased history of these worthy citizens, the sacrifices of blood that they made in the national wars, their characteristic Romanian attire, the names that they bear, their ancient customs, and especially their original Romanian dialect, which contains phonetisms that send us straight to ancient Vulgar Latin--all tell us of the true Romanianism of the Catholic population in Moldavia. Even the Hungarian dialect that is still heard in some villages, especially in Bacau County, is surprising proof of its Romanian origin. In fact, careful observations of a philological and phonetic nature prove abundantly that these people spoke Romanian first and then learned Hungarian, that their Hungarian was grafted onto the older Romanian language, and not vice versa. When these data, developed and proposed in a scientific manner, are offered to the public, they will undoubtedly replace the fixed and erroneous ideas that are circulating with regard to the origin of the Moldavian Catholics" (see: D. Martinas, "Originea ceangailor" [The Origin of the Ceangau People], p 145, note 87).

The appearance of the work of my brother, whose research and ferment I witnessed for several years, and the periodical LUCEAFARUL's recent roundtable in connection with it, so rich in explanations and so clear in conclusions,

confirm fully this great and unique joy, which brightens and warms my ancient spirit.

On behalf of my parents, who always considered themselves Catholic Romanians, on behalf of our heroes who gave their lives for the country because they felt like Romanians, and, finally, on behalf of my brother, who passed away without feeling this joy, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the scientific and national action "in the service of reestablishing the historical truth" about us, the Catholic Romanians in Moldavia.

What I too want to underscore for the public is the fact that the affirmation of the Romanianism of the Catholic population in Moldavia began initially only with us, the intellectuals, raised from among the respective population, because we knew ab origine all the aspects of its Romanian structure.

We all were puzzled by the fact that, despite all the evidence, we and our parents were considered foreigners by the Romanian people simply because we were Latin-rite Catholics. The Romanian authors who, for this reason, presented us as Hungarian or Ceangau people overlooked the idea that, through this narrow view, it was possible to deny the very existence of the whole Romanian populace in the period of Latin Christianity, from its formation and Christianization to "the fatal destiny of history" in the ninth century, in the words of historian D. Onciul.

The joy of reestablishing the historical truth is unanimous among us. However, we want this reestablishment to be effective on a national level, and thus we want all the dictionaries, encyclopedias, textbooks, press, and means of information to no longer present us as other than what we are: Romanians.

Overwhelmed by the joy of fulfilling our old aspiration, thanks to the innovative principles and the historical era inaugurated boldly by the ninth congress, it is fitting that we pay homage to, besides my dear brother, all the intellectuals raised among us, to those "people who were" and who, in writing and by word of mouth, fought for the affirmation and defense of the Romanianism of this population, for its spiritual and national formation, and for its social and economic advancement.

"Memoria est thesaurus omnium rerum et custos" (Cicero). Vivant sequentes!

12105

CS0: 2700/201

JUDGES SAY SFRY SUFFERS CONSTITUTIONALITY CRISIS

LD022308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1837 GMT 2 Jul 86

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)--The realization of constitutionality and legality is the condition for putting the situation in Kosovo in order. This stand of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court was also reiterated at today's meeting of judges and reporters, which was devoted to the last year's work of the court.

In tackling all problems, and therefore problems in Kosovo, they believe in the Constitutional Court, and that all constitutional means should be used, because extraordinary ones could be resorted to only in case of a state of emergency, which is declared by the federation organs.

All organs are duty-bound to implement the Constitution and laws, rather than political stands, Judge Dr Josif Trajkovic stressed. If it is politically assessed that a different procedure is necessary, this must be put into the regulations, because in a judicial state, one should not be allowed to take matters into one's own hands.

Answering a question, Dr Aleksandar Fira judged that the country was in one of the deepest crises of constitutionality and legality in its history. Speaking about the role and significance of the legal system, he stressed that no society as much as a socialist and self-managing one to such an extent needed to turn a political conflict into a legal dispute, which is tackled by regulations that have been democratically established in advance.

The crisis of constitutionality and legality is not reflected in the formal lack of coordination of laws and other regulations with the Constitution; this is shown by the small number of laws that are declared unconstitutional. The crisis was said to have manifested itself in the lack of respect for regulations, which were adopted so that social relations, rather than enactments, would be in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Illustrating the attitude of the Constitutional Court toward the questions that have recently been in the focus of public attention, the judges recalled the fact that owing to the Constitutional Court, solutions were being sought to preserve the Tara Canyon, which was to have been partly sacrificed for energy requirements.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia is reported to collect data of significance for the constitutional and legal aspect of the construction of nuclear power plants in Yugoslavia in order to assess whether there is scope for the activity in this regard.

In connection with dissatisfaction in Macedonia, with the decision to harmonize the republican law on work relations with the Constitution, it was said that the court would not undertake any action. The court takes the stand that it is the woman's right to choose whether she would work 35 or 40 years. This is an aspect of her special protection, as well as her work and legal equalization with a man.

The Yugoslav Constitutional Court has sent to the SFRY Assembly its views and observations on some questions of significance for realizing constitutionality and proposed a change of regulations and undertaking measures to ensure constitutionality and legality.

/8309

CSO: 2800/318

AGRICULTURAL MINISTER REASSURES PUBLIC ON RADIOACTIVITY, FOOD

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Eng E. Linkova: "Radioactivity and Food"]

[Text] In recent days and weeks we have received much more information on radiation than was the case in previous years, even though this subject began to be very topical at the beginning of the 1960's. That is the starting point, after all, for the beginning of the global contamination of the atmosphere, caused unambiguously by nuclear testing. This situation has been pointed out by the entire scientific community and its alarming data contributed to the start of a worldwide campaign to ban nuclear testing. The product of these tests, after all, are artificial radionuclides which account for one-third of all atmospheric radiation.

One must keep this fact well in mind when considering the possible consequences of the escape of radioactivity in Chernobyl in the USSR, and shortly thereafter at Hamm in the FRG. The total radiation load that we experienced in those days was not, according to experts, any higher than it was previously. In comparison with the 1960's, the period of atmospheric testing, we are in better shape today. Experts rate the current radiation load by the number 0.6 percent. It is interesting for comparison's sake to be aware that normal viewing of a color television exposes a person 0.1 percent of artificial radionuclides, thus showing that this is an insignificant amount.

Mainly in regard to the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear plant there have been a number of questions about the possible contamination of food. For this reason we had a talk with the Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food of the CSR, J. Rados.

[Question] In the first days after the accident sales of milk and milk products declined. Milk sales in May declined by about 10 percent. Still now we encounter the views of consumers that they would rather avoid milk and not give it to their children. What are the facts?

[Answer] The World Health Organization, the regional administrative center of which is in Copenhagen, has established the principle that no control measures are necessary for milk as long as there are no more than 2,000 bequerels of iodine 131 per liter of milk. Our hygienists have very strict

standards for judging food and permit only 1,000 becquerels per liter. During the period in question 50 to 400 becquerels were measured in liters of milk. All milk underwent a tougher inspection system, whether it was procured from agricultural enterprises in the CSSR or from small farmers. There was then a gradual decline in the volume activity of iodine 131 in the milk of the CSR and SSR. The volume activity of cesium 137 in milk has so far been lower than iodine 131 activity in most samples. In most of these samples it is at a level of less than 75 becquerels per liter.

[Question] What about fruits and vegetables?

[Answer] We recommend a regular program of washing fruit and vegetables before use. In this case as well we have nothing to fear. On the average no more than 350 becquerels per kilogram has been measured. Fruits and vegetables whether leafy or root, are quite safe.

[Question] The accident in Chernobyl has not caught us unawares. We have techniques and equipment for the precise and immediate measurement of the radiation situation. Nevertheless it would interest me how our experts wish to proceed in the future when monitoring radioactive materials in the environment and food.

[Answer] For measuring in the near future it was agreed that gamma-spectroscopic measurement of food falls under the authority of nine specialized laboratories of the hygienic service. These are located evenly in specific territories of the CSSR. They are involved in measuring the composition of the atmosphere and of food. In the first instance valuations are based on dosage inputs in free space. Contamination of the atmosphere, water, the soil surface, and its gradient is measured as well. In evaluations of food another approach is taken. Regularly, once a week, milk samples are analyzed from selected milk plants. Then once a month the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology in Prague does research on milk samples from all milk plants. Milk products are examined separately, and the same is true of infant and toddler foods. Samples of these foods are taken daily.

Regular inspections in this area are made of eggs and meat. Eggs are also measured from large scale operations and from small farmers. In the area of meat, once each week samples are tested of beef, pork and poultry, in almost every kraj. Vegetables and fruit are measured separately, as are samples taken for direct consumption and those designated for preservation of some kind. Delivery of samples is the responsibility of employees of kraj agricultural administrations.

[Question] For completeness on the radiation situation, just one last question, comrade deputy. Who has the authority to stop production or deliveries of foodstuffs?

[Answer] This decision is made only by the most senior hygienists of the CSSR Ministry of Health and, in the case of livestock products, in consultation with the director of the state veterinary administration. Thank you for the interview.

9276/9435

CSO: 2400/312

SLOWDOWN IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION EXPLAINED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 7 May 86 p 16

[Article by Jan Jezek: "Why the Problems?"]

[Excerpt] Within the comprehensive housing construction plan during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, it was decided in early 1981 to renovate 32,000 apartment units. The reality, however, was different. In the first year of the 5-year plan we managed to renovate only 110 units, the following year 1,214, and the year after 2,392 housing units. It was clear that the overall 5-year task was unrealistic; consequently, the original plan was reduced by 7,000 units. Even though during the last 2 years of the 5-year period the rate of construction increased significantly, the results of the original and amended plans were not attained.

There are quite a number of reasons and causes for this. Some we have already discussed on the pages of TRIBUNA. The responsibility for this modernization effort has from the outset rested on ill-prepared district construction enterprises which, with the tacit agreement of superior organs, focused their efforts on large-scale construction and built factories and investment projects, but principally because engagement in large-scale investment construction suited the district enterprises in economic terms.

Modernization and reconstruction of existing housing assets is not a simple matter. Expressed in lay terms, it involves too much effort with too little material, too much time spent on meager results. Moreover, some believe that the contemporary construction industry is more a matter of "grand technologies." Using the panel system, apartment buildings rise literally before one's eyes. One hardly sees classical masonry work any more. Yet, modernization not only needs it but cannot succeed without it. Several masons admitted in conversations with us that renovation operations were for them a sort of second apprenticeship during which they learned a lot.

Another problem, unfortunately one of the objective ones, is the shortage and often poor quality of materials, starting with bricks and ending with plumbing fixtures. Often debated is the continued practice of skeleton salvage which has now been used for 30 years and is said to reduce walling and plastering labor. At a glance, therefore, everything speaks in favor of this practice. Tenant opinion, however, indicates otherwise, and those who are able to choose

invariably prefer the old-type walled bathrooms and kitchens. We were convinced of this in a survey of tenants in a new settlement and in old buildings in Prague 4. All 50 tenants questioned preferred brick walls.

What do the construction people say to this? Is the use of the so-called unit nucleus really the best solution? We have heard from construction supervisors, as well as managers of furnisher enterprises, that the use of the nucleus system represents no advantage to them and that they would prefer actually to build the kitchens and bathrooms themselves. The nucleus method has a number of disadvantages, some very significant. It requires considerable storage at the building site, most often under unsuitable conditions. Labor requirements increase with the taking apart and reassembling of component parts. For fear of damage or theft, it is necessary to remove bathtubs, toilet bowls, and other fixtures. Another argument against nucleus-type construction is frequent damage during transport and handling. The cost of water leakage and necessary new insulation is beginning to cancel all advantages the old system might have.

Many shortcomings are also found in the work of the national committees. It is their responsibility to make sure that there is a sufficient number of replacement housing units. This is very often not the case. Also, it cannot be excused by the claim that there is an overall shortage of housing. An investigation by the Czech Committee of People's Control indeed established an interesting fact, namely, that in many towns there is a large number of unoccupied, so-called fluctuating, housing units (especially of the lower categories) which could be utilized for purposes of modernization.

From time to time, we even encounter the argument that modernization reduces the overall number of apartments, since one-room units are combined into two-room dwellings. A building with 10 apartments of the third or fourth category comes out after modernization with 6 units of the first or second category. Mathematically speaking, therefore, we have indeed lost 4 units but gained 6 of a much better quality. Without modernization we would have no units in a few years because the buildings would have to be torn down.

9496/12859

CSO: 2400/283

ARTICLE REVIEWS PROBLEMS WITH LIVING IN APARTMENTS

Prague TVORBA in Czech 11 Jun 86 p 5

[Article by Jiri Bagar: "An Apartment--An Obvious Matter"]

[Text] There is no family or person in our country who is not interested in how he lives. Questions of housing and the national and local housing policies were probably a subject in all the pre-election citizens' meetings; there would not be anyone who would be indifferent to the level of housing and the adequacy or inadequacy of heating, water, light, and cleanliness. There were comments and suggestions without number in this area. Housing and apartments have become the point at which many economic, social, cultural, and political problems concentrated.

What does this demonstrate? That there is a relatively low level of craftsmanship in the work of constructing new apartments. In their construction there is a totally demonstrable violation of technology which takes place. This is in itself disturbing. Even more disturbing is the fact that the reclaimable defects entered in the final approval records are repaired dilatorily. The situation is also negatively affected by legal changes in the responsibility for the defects in construction work; they do not establish time limits within which the supplier is obliged to correct the deficiencies. The legislators obviously rightly assumed that the pride of the construction workers will not allow them to procrastinate in making repairs to their work. The legal regulation therefore simply establishes that the customer and the supplier will agree on the time limits for correcting defects at the time of final approval. But because this is not taking place, economic arbitration is being used to decide on the time limits for correcting them. The English writer Norman Collins writes in the book "London Belongs to Us" that defects in housing are part of life and the tenant, after a while, gets so used to them that it would seem incomplete to him without them. I do not think that this should apply for our cities and our housing as well.

A continuing problem which does not disappear from the public citizens' meetings even after many years is the maintenance of apartments and their modernization or reconstruction. This is in no way a simple matter. It is very expensive, requires a great deal of tradesmen's work, and cannot take place without the cooperation of the planner, the investor, and the

construction workers on the professional side or without the participation of the national committees and the citizens, since a temporary move out of an apartment is a serious event in the family and social life. As the same time, it has been shown that the local construction industry does not have enough manpower for reconstruction of apartments and homes and it will therefore be necessary to expand their capacity. In the main directions of economic and social development approved by the 17th CPCZ Congress, it is specifically said about this "...to increase more significantly the capacity of the local construction industry and its share in the repair and modernization of apartments. To increase the extent of repairs and maintenance of the housing inventory performed by socialist organizations by 13 to 15 percent while at the same time ensuring the required makeup of these repairs. To expand modernization of the housing inventory; to set up an effective loan subsidy program from which we can ensure the modernization of at least 30,000 apartments performed by socialist organizations during the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Furthermore, to support modernization performed by the populace, particularly young people, and to create the necessary conditions for this. To increase significantly the responsibility of the national committees, the enterprises of the housing economy, and housing cooperatives for caring for the housing inventory."

The performance of tasks in the field is made more difficult by the fact that costs for construction and for maintenance are rising. For craftsmen's work such as that performed by carpenters, masons, metal workers, and painters, there is no highly productive machinery which can be introduced and it is possible to increase the productivity of labor only slowly. It is possible to resist the rise in expenses, but not during the construction. This must be done in the design phase, in establishing the technology, and in the mass production of construction elements, doors, windows, and plumbing and heating systems, that is, the products which not only affect the price of the construction itself, but also expenses in operating the apartment.

It is not possible to live in a modern society without apartments. The apartment is part of life and its quality and completeness of outfitting affect to a great degree what we call the living standard. Each person lives differently; some just sleep over in the apartment, another spends all his free time there, and there are people who live out their entire lives in one apartment. Everyone knows that the operation of an apartment and its maintenance require great expenditures, but despite this there are quite a few people who do not take into account and do not pay their rent. The amount of unpaid rent has not been calculated exactly for the country as a whole, but it is known to be disproportionately high.

The low level of public services in housing areas often and with justification has been and is criticized. Much has been written about this subject and I do not wish to repeat old ideas here. But I think that the reason for slow or inadequate construction of shops, services, restaurants, and clubrooms is not just economics, but rather an obsolete social awareness of the essential nature of having such facilities. This does not just concern housing areas, but also older developments in cities and towns. Life is not full and complete where there are not large enough stores, an inn, and a cultural center with rooms in which social organizations and citizens' committees can meet. Even in the best of families there occur misunderstandings from time to time.

They grow twice as fast where the people do not have the opportunity to get together sometimes discuss things, reach agreement, and simply create a common and social awareness. When the investor underrates this matter, it causes not only economic harm, but mainly social and cultural damages.

The housing policy is a serious matter. We cannot walk around it with our eyes closed. Yes, there are people whose demands for housing exceed all reasonable bounds. But there are also those among us whose demands for an improved level of housing are more than justifiable. The housing policy of our society can and must meet them halfway.

6285/9312

CSO: 2400/307

- END -

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

16 Sept 86